

LANGUAGE EDUCATION & COMMUNICATION

Omkar N Koul

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Omkar N Koul



Indian Institute of Language Studies

Language, Education & Communication

By:

Omkar N Koul

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Preface

Language, education and communication are some important areas of my academic interest. I have published quite a few articles on these subjects and have also presented papers in seminars and conferences. In the present volume, I have made an effort to compile revised versions of some of my papers published earlier and also included some papers which have not been published so far. I have also included two papers co-authored by me with Dr. L.Devaki published earlier.

I would like to thank the editors and publishers of various journals and volumes for permitting to re-print some of my earlier papers as chapters in this book. Papers published earlier are mentioned in references at the end of the book.

I take this opportunity to thank my former colleagues and friends who have provided their comments on some of the papers. I would like to thank Prof. S. Imtiaz Hasnain for going through the manuscript and for offering his useful suggestions. I would like to thank colleagues and staff of the IILS for their assistance in publishing this book. I hope the book would be of interest to students, teachers and researchers in the areas related to language, education and communication.

Omkar N. Koul

July 2005

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Language as a Tool for Foreign Policy

Introduction

Language can play a very crucial role in any country's foreign policy. Many countries, in as far as their relations with other countries are concerned, have realized the potential of language and have utilized it as a source to their advantage. India is in a much advantageous position, but unfortunately the potential of Indian linguistic situation has not been tapped adequately and used as a tool for foreign policy. Here, an attempt will be made to explain the potentiality of linguistic situation of India and to suggest steps India could take in using language more effectively as a tool for foreign policy and diplomacy.

Linguistic Situation

India is a multi-lingual country. The 1961 census lists 1652 mother tongues spoken in India. According to 1971 census, 281 languages are spoken by more than 5000 speakers each, and 221 languages are spoken by more than 10,000 speakers each. A further break-up of these languages is as follows: 33 languages are spoken by 1 million or more speakers, 49 languages are spoken by 100 thousand to less than a million speakers, and 139 languages are spoken by 10,000 to less than 100 thousand speakers each. Moreover, most of these languages have their own varieties or well-defined dialects. The multilingual character of India is also reflected in the 1981 census figures in which the use of various languages has been shown in the units of 10,000 households in each state. Multilingualism is spread in all the states and regions, though the regional or so-called state languages are in dominant positions. Out of the many languages spoken in India, the Constitution of India recognizes 18 major languages in the VIII schedule namely Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Marathi, Manipuri, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

India's Foreign Policy

The Indian foreign policy stresses the establishment and maintenance of good relations with neighboring as well as other distant countries all over

the world. India as one of the leading countries of the non-align movement has to maintain relations at par with all the world powers and also with other non-aligned and third world countries. As far as the neighboring countries are concerned, being the largest country and a member of SARC India has to play a major role in South Asia. This unique position demands the strengthening of relationship between India and various other countries. Besides political and economic fronts, India can establish and maintain close ties with most of the countries using language as a tool. Strategies to be adopted may vary from country to country.

South Asia

Some of the major Indian languages are recognized as national or official languages in the neighboring countries in South Asia. For example, Urdu is the official language of Pakistan, Bengali is the official language of Bangladesh. Tamil has a prominent place in Sri Lanka. Nepali the official language in Nepal is spoken in parts of India. Similarly, Punjabi, a regional language of Punjab in India, is also spoken in the Punjab province of Pakistan. Sindhi, one of the major Indian languages is natively spoken in the Sindh province of Pakistan. It is possible to build on the common linguistic ties between the people of two countries and to have collaborative schemes for the development of these languages thereby bringing the people closer to one another. It is important to initiate common Indo-Pak linguistic, cultural and literary projects in Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi languages. Similarly, certain common Indo-Bangladesh, Indo-Nepal and Indo-Srilanka projects can be initiated with respect to Bengali, Nepali and Tamil languages. These projects can be of different types. Indian linguists can conduct the linguistic research work on these languages, which are spoken and used across national boundaries in collaboration with scholars from respective countries. The projects can be related to linguistic studies of these languages at different levels, socio-linguistic studies, language standardization, standardization of administrative and technical vocabulary etc. There is a wide scope for collaboration between various countries of South Asia. Undertaking of common linguistic projects will result in exchange of scholars, participation in bilateral seminars, conferences and workshops. It will also save the duplication of certain research projects on these languages across borders. It would also help in the exchange and appreciation of literature written in the same language across borders. This would bring the people of the two countries speaking the same languages closer to one another.

Keeping the present situation in view, not much interest has developed in the linguistic research work in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan,

Maldives and Sri Lanka. India can offer collaboration in setting-up research and teaching facilities in linguistics in these countries. Among the South Asian countries, various collaborative projects can be undertaken with reference to major linguistic issues of the languages spoken and used across national boundaries. Some of the major issues are indicated below. Urdu, a major Indian language, is used as the official language in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India and enjoys a second official language status in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar in various domains of administration. Urdu is also the official language of Pakistan. Main linguistic issues faced by Urdu are its non-standardization of script and of the administrative and technical registers. The use of certain orthographical signs in Urdu is not uniform and standardized. Their use is inconsistent and some of these are ignored in printing. The omission of the vowel signs zabar, zeer, pesh, ultapesh representing the vowels /a/ /i/, /u/ and /uu/, respectively, the signs of jazm tashdiid and hamzaa indicating consonant clusters, gemination of consonants, and vowel sequences respectively, and their wrong use impedes the reading and very frequently results in mispronunciation of words. A second or foreign language learner of Urdu faces different types of problems. It is imperative to standardize the use of these orthographical signs. This would facilitate the uniform printing and will help the language learners of Urdu in both countries. Though Urdu is used as the official language both in Pakistan and some states in India, the administrative and technical registers of the language, which extensively borrows from Perso-Arabic sources, are not yet standardized. In the coinage of terminology and phrases, the Urdu enthusiasts have mostly ignored the common bases it shares with Hindi and other local languages and have artificially churned out terminology and phrases borrowing blindly from Perso-Arabic sources. Not only are there several options available for each concept, but also different words and phrases are used for same concepts in different regions. It would be in the interest of the development of the Urdu language that the administrative and technical registers must be developed and standardized. The Indo-Pak collaboration in this venture will be of much help.

Indo-Pak linguistic collaboration can also go a long way in respect of the development of Punjabi and Sindhi languages too. Punjabi is the official language of the Punjab state in India and it is also widely spoken natively in the Punjab state in Pakistan. Punjabi is written in the Gurumukhi script in India and is written in the Perso-Arabic script in Pakistan. Punjabi also has developed two literary styles: Sanskritized and Persanized in the two countries of India and Pakistan respectively. Indo- Pakistan linguistic collaboration can help in the standardization of two scripts namely,

Gurumukhi and Perso-Arabic for Punjabi, and also its administrative, legal and technical registers. India may opt to accept Perso-Arabic as an alternate script for writing Punjabi which would enable the students and scholars of Punjabi to read the old manuscripts and books written in Perso-Arabic script and also the literary and technical works written in this script in Pakistan. India may also impress upon Pakistan for accepting the Gurumukhi script as an alternate script of Punjabi, which would facilitate the wider readership and exchange of printed works and Punjabi scholars across borders of India and Pakistan. This would certainly bring the Punjabi native speakers of the two countries close to each other. Sindhi is spoken in India by a large number of people, mostly migrants after partition from Pakistan. Sindhi is also spoken as a native language in the Sindh province of Pakistan. Sindhi speakers are spread all over India with concentration in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra states. Sindhi is written in Perso-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks in Pakistan and all the old literature is preserved in this script. Indian Sindhi speakers have switched over to Devanagari with additional diacritic marks as an additional script for Sindhi. Older generation of Sindhis in India, however, continue to use the Perso-Arabic script. Indo-Pakistan collaboration may help in the standardization of both scripts and develop its technical vocabulary. This would facilitate the preparation and printing Sindhi literature in both scripts. It is important to transliterate for wider readership the works of Indian Sindhi writers in Perso-Arabic as well as the selected works written in Sindhi in Pakistan into Devanagari script.

Bengali is the official language of the state of West Bengal in India, and it is also the official language of Bangladesh. Indo-Bangladesh linguistic collaboration would facilitate the overall development of the linguistic studies and literature in Bengali: Indian scholars may study the linguistic variations of Bengali spoken across national borders. There should be more exchange of literature written in Bengali and the scholars of the language in the two countries. This would facilitate the standardization of administrative and technical registers of Bengali.

Situations in respect of Nepali and Tamil are slightly different. Nepali is widely spoken in certain areas of India especially in West Bengal, Sikkim and Uttar Pradesh. It is also used as the official language in Nepal. There is a wide scope for standardization of Nepali script, which is not free from inconsistencies written in both Nepal as well as in India. Nepali is used in certain domains of administration in West Bengal and Sikkim where there is a larger concentration of people speaking the language. This would certainly demand the standardization of administrative and technical registers in the language. The Indo-Nepal collaborative ventures in the

area of language development of Nepali would certainly bring the people of the two countries across borders closer to each other. A similar situation prevails in respect of Tamil. Tamil is the official language of Tamilnadu state in India. It is also widely spoken in Sri Lanka concentrating in the north. Indo-Srilanka collaborative linguistic projects regarding the Tamil language and literature would facilitate wider readership of the literature written in the Tamil language in both countries and would foster the linguistic and emotional affinity of the people living in the two countries.

Common linguistic features of South Asian languages along with socio-cultural ties of the people if properly channelised can result in mutual collaboration and co-operation for regional development. India being the biggest country in the South Asia can play a major role in using the common linguistic and cultural affinity as a tool for establishing and maintaining good relations with all other South Asian countries.

Indian Emigrants

India can also use language as a tool for developing good relations with the people of countries where there is large influx and settlement of immigrants of South Asian origin. A large number of South Asian origin immigrants are settled in Mauritius, Fiji Surinam, African countries and all the developed countries namely the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., Canada, Australia etc. The South Asian immigrant population origin in these countries though settled for generations feel cultural rootlessness and make all efforts to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity. India can help these immigrants in their maintenance, by preparing need based instructional materials and audio-visual aids including videocassettes related to languages and culture. Indian linguists can work in collaboration with the linguistic and cultural organizations in these countries in devising the suitable materials. This would certainly develop goodwill and the sense of oneness between the people of common linguistic and cultural heritage separated by geographical boundaries. India can also help the educational and cultural institutions in these countries, wherever there is a need or demand for it, in the development of facilities for the education of immigrant children and adults using the immigrant languages as one of the school subjects.

Some of the developed countries have realized the need for bilingual education for the benefit of their immigrant population to counter the mushroom growth of semi-skilled or un-equipped ethnic schools for bringing the immigrant population to the mainstream in their national development. The U.K. and Australia are currently making serious efforts in this direction. Indian linguists can make significant contribution in

studying the linguistic situations prevailing in these countries very closely and for devising the appropriate ways and means necessary for providing these facilities in collaboration with the respective governments. The collaboration in linguistic and cultural areas can build much needed goodwill between the people across national boundaries.

South East Asia

India and South East and the Far East Asian countries share certain traditional cultural bonds as a result of the spread of Buddhism and old Indian religious legends from India into these countries. Buddhism was widely spread in these countries using local languages by the monks, and Indian legends have become part of their cultural ethos. No serious linguistic and cultural research work has so far been conducted for describing these cultural ties across the national boundaries. There is a strong need for building the goodwill and co-operation between India and the South East Asian countries using the common bases of linguistic and cultural bonds. Indian linguists and cultural scientists can take-up research projects in collaboration with their counterparts in these countries and devise ways and means of building on these cultural ties, with an aim for bringing the people of these countries close to one-another.

Central and West Asia

As a result of spread of Islam and centuries of Muslim rule in India, strong socio-cultural and linguistic ties have developed between India and Central and West Asian countries. Persian has remained as the official language during the Muslim rule, which had greatly influenced the legal and administrative, registers of modern Indian languages. India has produced a number of scholars of Persian and Arabic languages. These languages continue to be taught in Universities and other institutions in India. India can strengthen her ties with these countries by collaborating in linguistic projects related to these languages.

English Speaking Countries

English has gained over the years an important position in mass- media, education and administration in India. The use of English in the above domains is likely to continue and grow for indefinite period of time. India can use English as a tool for collaboration with the people of all the English language dominant countries. The already existing ties can be strengthened by taking-up common projects on English language and literature. It will gain respectability for the Indian variety of spoken and written English

and facilitate the exchange of scholars and linguistic co-operation between India and the English speaking countries.

Multilingual Countries

As a multi-lingual country, India may share its experiences, problems and programmes in respect of language planning, including inter-state and inter-regional communication, choice and use of languages in education and administration with other multilingual countries. Problems faced by multilingual countries are of the same type, though languages are different. Linguistic collaboration among all the multilingual countries will go a long way in finding solutions to various problems related to language planning in such countries. The multilingual societies can easily come close to one another by better appreciation of the common issues faced by them. India can be benefited by adopting some of the strategies successfully used by other multilingual countries and may also play a major role in devising strategies appropriate to other developing multilingual countries.

Suggestions

Keeping in view the potentiality of the linguistic situation of India it is important to make use of it to our advantage in developing and maintaining cordial relations with all other countries as a part of India's foreign policy. We will further suggest below certain steps India could take in this direction.

1. Languages and Culture Centres

India may set up Language and Culture Centres in all the countries with whom India has diplomatic relations. There are certain such centres with limited objectives set-up by developed countries like Goethe Institutes of West Germany, Alliance Francaise of France, American Centres of the USA, and British Council of the U.K. etc in a large number of countries. The main aims and objectives of the Indian Language and Culture Centres may be (a) to teach Indian languages as foreign languages to the interested individuals, (b) to provide infra-structural facilities for research on Indian languages, languages of the host countries and contrastive studies of Indian languages with those of the host countries, (c) to collaborate with linguistic and cultural centres of the host countries in organizing seminars, conferences, exchange of scholars, publications etc. (d) to provide facilities for translation from Indian languages to the languages of the host countries and vice versa, and (e) to provide in-service training for Indian diplomatic personnel in languages and culture of host countries. Depending on the

size and requirements of the host countries, these centres can set-up branches in different areas. By providing facilities for training, research and translation. Most of these Centres can be economically viable and may not become burden on the exchequer. These Centres may not necessarily become parts of Indian diplomatic missions i.e. Embassies and High Commissions abroad but can function in collaboration with such institutions. Wherever opening of these Centres may not be possible, it would help to create the positions of Linguistic and Cultural Attaches in the diplomatic missions abroad for coordinating and undertaking linguistic and cultural activities indicated above.

2. Diplomatic Personnel

It is important to impart training to the diplomatic personnel in the languages and cultures of the countries they are allocated to. An intensive training in the home country i.e. India before the assignments and posting can be supplemented by in-service training to be imparted in the countries of posting through the Language and Culture Centres in collaboration with other similar institutions. The aims and objectives of such training would be (1) to build competence in basic language skills namely understanding, speaking, reading, and writing of the foreign languages and (2) to provide understanding of linguistic behavior including communication patterns of the people for facilitating better communication.

3. Defense and Intelligence Personnel

It would be useful to provide training to the selected Defense and intelligence personnel in the languages and cultures of the neighboring countries and especially of those countries with whom the chances of conflict are more likely. All the developed countries do have facilities for intensive training for the Defense and intelligence personnel. The popularity of wartime language courses is well-known. In certain situations, foreign language teaching materials and methods have become quite functional during the World Wars I and II, and whenever there have been conflict between the countries belonging to various linguistic groups. Even during peacetime, foreign language teaching will prove to be quite useful and would build better understanding between different countries.

4. Foreign Languages in Mass-Media

For strengthening and implementation of foreign policy, languages are used more often than not as effective tools of propaganda and publicity across countries. In mass media, radio and television play major role in

carrying out propaganda and also in popularizing policies of the government across national borders. All the developed and most of the developing countries use languages of other countries for special broadcast and telecast of their programmes which are aimed at the foreign audience or viewers. Some of these programmes are for projecting their own views on international issues, foreign policy and popularizing their trade and tourism. Other programmes are mainly for propaganda and for attracting the audience in hostile countries towards their own point of view.

All India Radio also broadcasts programmes in certain foreign languages aimed at the foreign listeners. The effectiveness of these programmes is to be assessed on the basis of response from listeners. Indian foreign language programmes however do not match the foreign language programmes broadcast by the Voice of America, British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Moscow, China and other countries for the Indian listeners.

India has also not paid much attention towards publishing publicity materials in foreign languages. It is high time that India devise ways and means for using foreign languages more effectively than it is done currently for propaganda and publicity on radio, television and on other channels of mass media.

Conclusion

To sum up, language can play an important tool for foreign policy. The potentiality of Indian linguistic situation if properly channelised can be used to India's advantage is establishing and maintaining good relationship with other countries of South Asia, countries of South Asian origin immigrants, South East Asia, West and Central Asia, English speaking countries, and other multilingual countries. It has been suggested for establishing Indian Languages and Culture Centres in all the countries with whom India has diplomatic relations. The training of diplomatic personnel, Defense and Intelligence personnel and proper use of foreign languages in mass media will also help India in great deal in the implementation of foreign policy and developing a better understanding between India and other countries.

Language Preferences in Education in India: A Survey

Introduction

Language in Education policy is directly related to the linguistic situation of a particular region, state or a country. The number of dominant language or languages prevalent in a particular society determines its monolingual, bi- or multilingual character. It is a fact that a majority of countries are de facto multilingual countries as a number of languages are spoken natively within their boundaries. There are over 5000 languages spread over less than 200 independent countries of the world. The number of languages does vary from country to country. The linguistic character of a particular country determines the issues of language rights, language empowerment, language promotion, language policy and language planning. It is directly related to the use of language or languages in education at different levels. It is obvious that monolingual and bi-/multilingual countries differ in their approaches in language policy in education. In a dominant monolingual approach, the dominant language is assigned prominent role in education and the mother tongues of the linguistic minorities are ignored. The linguistic minorities have to adopt the dominant language for their meaningful survival at different levels. In a multilingual approach, all the languages spoken in the region, state or country is given equal importance as far as their use in different domains is concerned. This approach promotes the development of all the languages and encourages their use in education. Language policy of the country ensures the teaching of the mother tongues at the elementary level and their use as media of instruction in the early school education. Children may learn other language or languages at the higher levels of their education.

The multilingualism is fast developing as a world – wide phenomenon with the opening up of free economy, trade and globalisation. The result being that in the English dominated monolingual countries like the USA, England and Australia, the use of languages of the linguistic minorities including the languages of the migrants are increasingly used in education at the primary level. The voluntary/non governmental organisations are helping the migrant communities in the preservation and maintenance of

these languages. There is a growth of language based ethnic schools and cultural centres. Multilingual countries face various problems in the formation and implementation of their language policies in education.

Multilingualism in India

The multilingual and multicultural character of India with high rate of illiteracy (of 33%) poses a large number of problems for the use of languages in education. Grierson identified 179 languages and 544 dialects in his Linguistic Survey of India conducted during 1888 and 1927. The 1951 census lists 845 languages including dialects, 60 of which were spoken by more than 10,000 speakers each. The 1961 census lists 1652 mother tongues corresponding to 193 classified languages. The classified languages belong to four families of languages: Austric (20), Dravidian (20), Indo-Aryan (54), Tibeto –Burmese (98) and one of doubtful affiliation. In the 1971, 1981 and 1991 Census, distribution of household population is presented along with the Schedule VIII languages and other major languages. It is important to note that the percentage of speakers of 22 languages included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution is about 96% out of the total household population.

The multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic characteristics of India, varying socio-economic strata of people, complex communication patterns were well recognised during pre-independence period. The Constitution of India devotes 9 articles (Art 343-351) to the issues related to language policy of the Central and State governments. While Hindi in the Devanagiri script is recognised as the official language of the Central government along with English as the associate official language (initially for a period of 15 years up to 1965, however continues to be used by the Official Language Act passed in 1963 and amended later in 1967). The state Governments have a choice to adopt any language or languages listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution as the official language in their state. Whereas all the States made a choice in favour of their regional or dominant native language as the official language, Jammu and Kashmir government chose Urdu – a non -native language of the state; some states in the Northeast decided in favour of English. The Constitution protects the right of the linguistic minorities in each state for preservation of their linguistic and cultural identity.

The government of India adopted a Three-Language Formula in 1968. Under the Formula a child is supposed to learn three languages: mother tongue, Hindi and English. In case the mother tongue is Hindi the child will learn another modern Indian language preferable a South Indian language. The Formula is not however followed strictly in letter and spirit.

For instance, Tamil Nadu teaches two languages: Tamil and English ; Hindi speaking states teach Sanskrit (a classical language) in place of modern Indian language. Usually three languages are used in the school education. However, the stages of introducing these languages vary from State to State and one schooling system to another.

In some schools two languages are introduced in the first primary itself and the third language is introduced at the sixth grade, in others the second language is introduced at the third standard and the third at the sixth standard. For teaching of tribal/minor languages as the mother tongues in schools, the Bilingual Transfer Model proposed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages is followed in some States. According to this Model, the mother tongue of the child is taught as a subject and is also used as the medium of instruction in the initial three years of primary education, and the State's official language is introduced at the third primary level as a subject followed by other two languages at the sixth grade. The child has to learn four languages.

Language Preferences in Education

Language has primarily two roles in education. It is studied as a subject, and is used as medium of instruction. The choice of language as a subject of study and also the choice of language as a medium of instruction has a direct influence on the language in education policy of the country and is determined by various socio-economic and political factors. The choice of language in education is also related to language empowerment and the values of status and prestige. It is generally observed that lately conscious efforts are made to make a proper choice of the language keeping in view various factors, which determine the choice at different levels. The globalisation and increasing educational technology are also responsible for making a careful choice. It is important to study the language preferences in education from different points of view. One has to determine the reasons of making the choice, the aims and objectives of language education and medium of instruction by eliciting the views of the students, parents, potential employers, teachers, educationists etc. This would definitely help in evolving a clear-cut language in education policy by the government at various levels and strengthening the teaching and learning of languages at different levels. No detailed survey has been conducted so far to find out the language preferences in education in India.

Keeping in view the dominant multilingual situation in India and the education policy of the country, it is a gigantic task to conduct a

detailed survey covering different areas. That kind of survey will involve a lot of manpower, time and funds. Therefore a project was devised to have a sample survey with representative sample of data from different parts of the country. The choice of the sample was determined keeping in view certain diverse situations and language issues which determine preferences. The current report is based on the sample survey conducted on the subject. We have tried to make it as representative as possible within the time frame and resources available.

The sample

India has witnessed a large number of language movements (and language riots too) lately. In certain situations it is not possible to distinguish between language and politics. The issues related to the language rights, language empowerment, language identity and language loyalty are discussed at different levels. The issues are directly related to the use of languages in education. We have tried to select representative sample keeping in view certain language-related issues, and situations. We have tried to take a sample from different parts of India. We have collected data from Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Maharashtra, West Bengal, and Orissa. Besides taking the sample from a select prominent languages which are listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India (Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Bengali and Oriya), we have also taken the sample from Dogri – a non-scheduled language, and Kolami a tribal language belonging to Dravidian language family spoken in Maharashtra.

It was decided to have a sample size of about 50 students each of different mother tongue groups, 30 parents each speaking the concerned mother tongue, and 20 employers of different categories situated in the areas where the data from students and parents is collected. Special care was taken in selecting the sample so that it is as varied as possible representing various socio-economic groups of respondents.

The Methodology

The methodology used is of diverse nature. In this kind of survey it is important to collect data from different sources. The main sources are students who study different languages at different levels and have a choice to learn all their school subjects in a selected medium. In the early childhood education, the choice in selecting the school subjects

and the medium of instruction is of course exercised by the parents (or guardians). The students may exercise their choice at an advanced stage of schooling. Parents' choice is determined by the socio-economic factors, language attitudes and their own worldview, or experience. An important economic aspect, which determines the choice of the students as well as parents, revolves around the economic avenues and employment opportunities open to the students after their schooling. It is, therefore, essential to elicit the data from the potential employers regarding the use of languages in their organisations.

Thus data was obtained from students, parents and employers. Three types of questionnaires were devised and administered (1) for obtaining information from students at different levels, (2) for obtaining information from parents, and (2) for obtaining information from employers of various categories. We have also interviewed some educationists, teachers and opinion leaders and obtained their views on various issues related to the survey. We have also referred to available resources on the subject.

II

The Data

Three types of questionnaires were administered to the informants for eliciting data. The data are presented language group wise from students, parents and employers. The questionnaires are given as an appendix to this report.

Questionnaire 1

The questionnaire 1 meant for students sought information regarding the name and address (optional), state, class or standard, age-group, mother tongue and other languages known, languages studied at different levels, medium of instruction used at different levels, their language proficiency, the language they like the best and the one they like the least, languages used/preferred in reading newspapers, listening to radio, watching TV programmes and films, languages used for reading for pleasure and languages used for obtaining technical and professional information, and finally what kind of job/profession they would like to take up after completing their schooling/education. This questionnaire was administered to the students of Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi, Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Oriya, Bengali, Marathi and Kolami mother tongue groups. The data obtained from administering the questionnaire is presented language group wise. The information

about names and addresses, classes they study in and age groups is not collated. As special efforts have been made in selecting students from various categories of classes and age groups and respondents belonging to both sexes, this information is not considered relevant for the present report.

1. Tamil

Tamil is a Dravidian language primarily spoken in Tamil Nadu in India. The data from the mother tongue speakers in Tamil was collected from Chennai - the capital city of Tamil Nadu. Chennai being a cosmopolitan town is inhabited by the communities who speak other Indian languages like Hindi, Urdu Malayalam, Telugu , Kannada etc. Tamil is well known for having two varieties: spoken and written. The mother tongue speakers of Tamil reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Malyalam	Sanskrit
100	20%	5%	5%

Languages studied at different levels are:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Tamil	80%	80%	80%	80%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	20%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	10%	-	-

Medium of Instruction

Tamil	50%	50%	50%	25%
English	50%	50%	50%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Tamil	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	20%	20%	-	-
Malayalam	20%	20%	-	-
Telugu	10%	10%		
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least bilinguals. Some of them are familiar with other languages as well. 20% have studied Hindi and 10% Sanskrit in their school education. Though they have not reported their proficiency at all the language skills. Similarly Malayalam and Telugu has been acquired as a result of language contact or on making personal efforts. These have not been the school subjects.

The language attitude

The language attitude is tested by asking the respondents to state which language they like the best and which the least. In response to this question, there have been very interesting responses. Most of them (about 90%) have stated that they like Tamil because it is their mother tongue. Some have praised it for being 'fully developed' language, which has very rich classical and modern literature. One respondent has mentioned "I like it for its infinite enormous unexplored riches in terms of expression and thought" One person has given the reason as "it is inseparable and most precious part of my life". Other person has stated that he considers it best because it is an efficient and successful medium of instruction in science and technological subjects. Almost all the respondents have avoided mentioning the language which they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Tamil	English	Hindi
Newspapers	80%	100%	-
Radio	100%	50%	-
TV	100%	50%	20%
Films	100%	50%	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question regarding the language in which they read for pleasure, the response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Tamil and 20% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining

technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Tamil.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
40%	30%	20%	10%

2. Kannada

Kannada is primarily spoken in the state of Karanataka. It has a large number of dialectical variations. The standard variety is used in literature. It is this variety which is used in education, mass media , administration and other formal domains. The data from the native speakers was collected from Mysore in Karanataka. The mother tongue speakers of Kannada reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Tamil	Sanskrit
80%	40%	20%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Kannada	80%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	40%	60%	60%	-
English	100%	100%	100%	100%

Medium of Instruction

Kannada	60%	60%	60%	30%
English	40%	40%	40%	70%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kannada	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	60%	60%	40%	40%
Tamil	50%	50%	-	-

It shows that all the respondents are at least bilinguals in Kannada and English. Some of them are familiar with other languages as well. 60% have studied Hindi in their school and have reported their proficiency in all the language skills. It appears Tamil has been acquired as a result of language contact or on making personal efforts.

Language Attitude

The language attitude is tested by asking the respondents to state which language they like the best and which the least. In response to this question, there have been very interesting responses. Most of them (about 90%) have stated that they like Kannada because it is their mother tongue. Other reasons given are its simplicity in comparison to other languages, its capability of being a medium of science and technology, its rich literature etc. Most of the respondents have avoided mentioning the language which they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Kannada	English	Hindi
Newspapers	90%	100%	-
Radio	100%	50%	40%
TV	100%	50%	60%
Films	100%	50%	80%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Kannada and 20% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% said they read in Kannada.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take

up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	30%	10%	10%

3. Telugu

Telugu is a Dravidian language primarily spoken in Andhra Pradesh. The data from the native speakers of Telugu was collected from Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. The mother tongue speakers of Telugu reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi/Urdu	Tamil	Sanskrit
100	60%	50%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Telugu	80%	100%	80%	40%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-

Medium of Instruction

Telugu	60%	60%	60%	20%
English	40%	40%	40%	80%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Telugu	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	80%	80%	60%	60%
Urdu	80%	80%	5%	5%
Tamil	40%	40%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are trilinguals in Telugu, English and Hindi/Urdu. Some of them are familiar with other languages like Tamil and Sanskrit. Though none of them has studied Tamil as a subject in school, they speak it in the language contact situation. 10% of them have studied Sanskrit in their school and can read and write in this language.

Language Attitude

There were different responses for the question of which language they like the best and which the least. 80% state that they like Telugu as it is their mother tongue; they get education through it; it is used as medium of instruction for different subjects; it has a very rich literature etc. 20% respondents consider English the best as it is the vehicle of modern knowledge; it provides jobs in multinational companies; it is widespread and spoken as an international language. Most of them have avoided replying the second part of the question to state which language they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Telugu	English	Hindi	Tamil
Newspapers	80%	100%	5%	-
Radio	100%	50%	50%	40%
TV	100%	20%	50%	40%
Films	100%	52%	50%	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Telugu and 20% in English for pleasure. The response was reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Telugu.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
40%	20%	30%	10%

4. Hindi

Hindi is an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in seven Indian states namely Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. The data from the mother tongue speakers of Hindi was collected from Delhi. The mother tongue speakers of Hindi have reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Urdu	Punjabi	Sanskrit
100%	40%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Sanskrit	20%	20%	-	-

Medium of Instruction

Hindi	60%	60%	60%	20%
English	40%	40%	40%	80%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	80%	80%	10%	10%
Punjabi	30%	30%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Hindi and English. Some of them are familiar with Punjabi and Sanskrit as well. Though none of them has studied Punjabi as a subject in school and have acquired its oral skills from the environment in the language contact situation. 80% of the respondents claim that they understand and speak Urdu, only 10% can read and write it. By knowing Urdu would mean their familiarity with vocabulary in speech. 10% of them have studied Sanskrit in their schools.

Language Attitude

There were different responses in reply to the question of which language they like the best and which one the least. 80% state that they like Hindi as the best as it is their mother tongue; it has been the language of their education; it has a rich literature etc. 20% respondents consider English the best as it is used widely in information technology; it helps to get jobs; it is an international language etc. Most of them have avoided replying the second part of the question to state which language they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Hindi	English	Punjabi
Newspapers	50%	80%	-
Radio	100%	30%	10%
TV	100%	20%	10%
Films	100%	20%	-

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of Hindi. 80% read in Hindi and 20% in English for pleasure. The response was reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% said they read in Hindi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
30%	20%	40%	10%

5. Punjabi

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the State of Punjab in India. The data for the present survey was collected from Patiala. The mother tongue speakers of Punjabi reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Urdu	Sanskrit
100	80%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Punjabi	60%	60%	50%	30%
English	40%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	60%	60%	40%	-

Medium of Instruction

Punjabi	60%	60%	60%	25%
English	40%	40%	40%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Punjabi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	80%
Urdu	25%	25%	5%	5%
Sanskrit	5%	-	5%	5%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Punjabi, English and Hindi. Some of them are familiar with Urdu and Sanskrit as well. The respondents can understand and speak Urdu but not many of them can read and write it. Similarly a very low percentage of respondents can understand, read and write Sanskrit, which they have studied in school at some stage.

Language Attitude

In response to the question as which language they like the best and which one the least, most of the respondents have said that they like Punjabi as the best for various reasons: it is their mother tongue, it is

capable of being able to communicate new ideas, it has very rich literature, its folk literature and songs etc. About 10% respondents have responded to the second half of the question which languages they like least. One has mentioned Hindi without giving any reason and one has mentioned English for its 'complicated' spellings. One said 'I don't want to distinguish between languages. All are equally good.'

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given as follows:

	Punjabi	English	Hindi	Urdu
Newspapers	80%	100%	20%	-
Radio	100%	25%	20%	10%
TV	80%	20%	80%	20%
Films	80%	20%	80%	10%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 60% read in Punjabi and 20% in English and 20% in Hindi for pleasure. The response is quite different for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% say they read in Punjabi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

6. Kashmiri

Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The data from the mother tongue speakers in Kashmiri has been collected from Jammu and

Udhampur. The informants are migrants from the Kashmir valley who have settled in Jammu and neighbouring areas since 1990. Kashmiri though listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India as a major Indian language is not used in administration, and has very limited roles in education and mass media. It is taught as an optional subject in some select schools at the Higher Secondary level, as a subject in a few colleges in the valley of Kashmir, and is taught as a subject at the University of Kashmir since last two decades. There are no facilities for teaching this language as a subject either in schools or in colleges in the Jammu province where the migrant community from the valley has temporarily settled. The mother tongue speakers of Kashmiri reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Urdu	Dogri	Sanskrit
100	60%	80%	5%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Urdu.	80%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	20%	20%	20%	-
English	25%	100%	100%	100%
Sanskrit	-	10%	10%	-

Medium of Instruction

Urdu	80%	80%	80%	-
Eng.	20%	20%	20%	100%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kashmiri	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	100%	100%	80%	80%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Dogri	20%	20%	5%	5%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are trilinguals in Kashmiri, English and Hindi/Urdu. Some of them are familiar with additional languages

as well. The respondents have not studied Dogri in school and have acquired it in the environment where they are settled now. 10% have studied Sanskrit in their school but only 5% say that they can read and write it.

Language Attitude

In response to the question which language they like the best and which one the least. There have been various responses. About 30% have said that they like Kashmiri as it is their mother tongue, it is the part of their culture, and has rich literature. About 20% have said that they like Hindi as the best as it is the 'national' language; it is spoken throughout the country etc. It is amazing to note that 50% respondents consider English as the best for the reasons of being a language of 'wider' communication; language of the information technology; language of modern ideas etc. Almost all the respondents have avoided replying the second part of the question as which language they like least.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Kashmiri	English	Urdu	Hindi
Newspapers	-	100%	20%	20%
Radio	50%	20%	80%	80%
TV	-	100%	50%	20%
Films	-	100%	50%	20%

It is to be noted that no daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri either from the valley or from Jammu. A couple of weekly newspapers published in the valley are not easily available in Jammu. Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri are broadcast primarily from Radio Kashmir, Srinagar and Srinagar Doordarshan respectively, which are not relayed from Jammu. Recently started Kashir channel by Doordarshan telecasts Kashmiri programmes is available on cable and is not accessed by Kashmiri migrants who probably cannot afford cable connections. Therefore, there is a very low response for listening to Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri. An early survey (Koul and

Schmidt 1983) devoted to language use and language preferences in Kashmir showed a tremendous response to the preference for Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri. It should be true in the Kashmir valley even now.

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure and for obtaining the technical and professional information. 10% read in Kashmiri, 30% in Urdu, 40% in Hindi and 20% in English for pleasure. 10% read in Urdu, 20% in Hindi and 70% read in English for obtaining technical and professional information.

Kashmiri has a rich literary tradition in poetry, but the prose writings including fiction and popular writings developed only after the independence of the country. Since Kashmiri has a limited role in education, the development of these genres particularly fiction has not been adequate. The mother tongue speakers do not have a choice to read in their mother tongue for pleasure. Instead they read in the languages they have studied in school/college. There is a wide preference for reading in English for obtaining technical and professional information. The role of other languages in this domain is very insignificant.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	30%	20%	-

7. Dogri

Dogri is primarily spoken in the Jammu province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has various variations. Dogri spoken in the Jammu City is considered to be the standard variety. This variety is used in education, mass media and in literary compositions. Dogri is also taught as a subject at the university level and in a few colleges as a subject and as optional languages in some schools in the Jammu region at the higher secondary level. The literary activities in the language have increased after independence. This language is recognised by the Sahitya Akademi as one of the 22 languages for the annual awards.

Data for this survey has been collected from Jammu and Udhampur towns of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The mother tongue speakers of Dogri reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Urdu	Punjabi	Sanskrit
80%	80%	20%	10%	10%

Dogri is structurally very close to Punjabi. A significant difference between the two is that it is written in the Devanagiri script whereas Punjabi is written in Gurumukhi. There are a few differences at the phonological and morphological levels too.

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Dogri	-	-	-	25%
Hindi	80%	80%	80%	80%
Urdu	-	20%	20%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	100%

Medium of Instruction

Hindi	50%	50%	50%	-
English	50%	50%	50%	100%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Dogri	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	80%	80%	20%	20%
Punjabi	100%	80%	10%	10%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Dogri, Hindi and English. Quite a few are at ease with spoken Punjabi but only a limited number of informants can read and write Punjabi in Gurumukhi. Hindi and Urdu are structurally very close languages and are primarily different in using two different scripts in written form. As there has always been an option in choosing between Hindi and Urdu as medium of instruction in the Jammu province, most of the

informants have opted for Hindi in Devanagri script. Very few informants have studied Urdu as a school subject. As 10% informants have studied Sanskrit in their schools they can read and write in the language.

Language Attitude

There were different responses for the question as which language they like the best and which one the least. About 30% have said that they like Dogri as the best as it is their mother tongue; part of their rich culture etc. 30% consider Hindi as the best as it is spoken throughout the country; it is the 'national' language. About 40% consider English as the best for the reasons being 'widely' spoken; medium of scientific and technological knowledge etc. Most of them have avoided responding to the second half of the question related to the language, which they like least.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least three languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Dogri	English	Hindi	Punjabi
Newspapers	-	80%	20%	-
Radio	100%	20%	60%	50%
TV	100%	20%	80%	40%
Films	-	20%	80%	60%

There are no daily newspapers published in Dogri.

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. 60% respondents have said that they read in their mother tongue i.e. Dogri, 20% read in Hindi and 20% read in English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the languages they read in for obtaining technical/ professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Hindi and Urdu languages.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	PublicSector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

8. Oriya

Oriya is primarily spoken in Orissa. It has several dialects. The data from the Oriya mother tongue speakers was collected from Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in Orissa. Other languages spoken in the region are Bengali and Hindi. The mother tongue speakers of Oriya reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Bengali	Sanskrit
80%	80%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Oriya	100%	100%	100%	40%
English	50%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	20%	50%	50%	-

Medium of Instruction:

Oriya	50%	50%	50%	80%
English	50%	50%	50%	20%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Oriya	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	80%	80%	80%	80%
Bengali	40%	40%	40%	40%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Oriya, English and Hindi. A significant number of respondents are familiar with Bengali as well which is primarily spoken in the neighbouring state of West Bengal. There are good number of Bengali mother tongue

speakers settled in Orissa particularly in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. The Oriya mother tongue speakers have acquired this language as a result of language contact. There is a good response for learning of Hindi as a part of the implementation of Three-Language Formula. 10% Oriya mother tongue speakers have studied Sanskrit as well and can read and write in the language.

Language Attitude

In reply to the question about listing the language they like the best and the one they like the least, there are different responses. About 40 % have said that they like Oriya because it is their mother tongue. About 50% of the respondents consider English best for the reasons of being 'more useful than any other language'; being widely used in information technology and science etc. 10% respondents have not responded to this question. In response to the second half of the question there are some emotional responses such as 'Bengali, because I cannot speak it'; 'Sanskrit, because it is of no use to me'; Hindi because it is unnecessarily patronised by government' etc. Most of the respondents have avoided answering this part of the question.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least three languages are used/preferred by the respondents in mass media. The response is given below:

	Oriya	English	Hindi
Newspapers	80%	100%	20%
Radio	100%	20%	40%
TV	100%	20%	60%
Films	100%	20%	80%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure, the response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Oriya and 20% in English and Hindi for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% say they read in Oriya and other languages.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

9. Bengali

Bengali is primarily spoken in the state of West Bengal in India. The data from the Bengali mother tongue speakers was collected from Kolkata – the capital city of the state. There are certain dialectical variations in Bengali spoken in Kolkata and other areas. The standard variety of the speech is used in literary works. It is this variety which is used in education, mass media and administration. The mother tongue speakers of Bengali reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Sanskrit	Oriya	Assamese
100	80%	5%	10%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Bengali	100%	100%	80%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-

Medium of Instruction

Bengali	50%	50%	50%	25%
English	50%	50%	50%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Bengali	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	60%	60%
Oriya	60%	20%	5%	5%
Assamese	50%	20%	10%	10%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	5%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Bengali, English and Hindi. Some of them are familiar with Oriya , Assamese and Sanskrit as well. 10% have studied Sanskrit in their schools. They can read and write it. Quite a significant number of Bengali mother tongue speakers have acquired the language skills in Oriya and Assamese as close cognate languages.

Language Attitude

There are various responses to the question related to which language they like the best and which one the least. 70% of the respondents say Bengali is the best language for various reasons. The main reasons stated are: it is their mother tongue; its rich literature; its films; its folk literature; its capability of becoming vehicle of modern ideas and science. Almost all have avoided responding to the second part of the question.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/ preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Bengali	English	Hindi
Newspapers	100%	100%	10%
Radio	100%	50%	50%
TV	100%	50%	50%
Films	100%	50%	50%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 90% read in Bengali and 10% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 70% say that they read in English and 30% say they read in Bengali.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take

up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
60%	10%	25%	5%

10. Marathi

Marathi is primarily spoken in the state of Maharashtra. The data from Marathi mother tongue speakers has been collected from Nagpur. Besides speaking Marathi as their mother tongue the respondents have reported to know the other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Sanskrit
80%	80%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	50%

Medium of Instruction

Marathi	60%	60%	60%	50%
English	40%	40%	40%	50%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	90%	90%	80%
English	80%	80%	80%	80%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Marathi and English. Most of them are familiar with Hindi as well, as 60% have studied Hindi in their school. Marathi and Hindi are both written in Devanagiri script. It is therefore easier for any literate Marathi speaker to read and write in Hindi as well. Hindi is also getting prominence in the business communication in Nagpur. It is widely used by Marathi speakers in communicating with Hindi and other language speakers.

Language Attitude

There have been various responses to the question which language they like the best and which one the least. About 80% respondents have said that they like Marathi as it is their mother tongue; it is easy to learn; it is easy to express in this language etc. 20% respondents consider English the best for the reasons of its being a 'universal' language; its use in information technology, its usefulness in securing suitable jobs etc. In response to the other part of the question about 10% have said that they don't like English because it is 'dominating' everywhere; it is difficult to learn etc. All others have avoided in naming a language, which they do not like.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Marathi	Hindi	English
Newspapers	80%	50%	50%
Radio	80%	50%	-
TV	80%	60%	10%
Films	60%	80%	10%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the languages in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Marathi, 10 % read in Hindi and 10% in English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the languages they read in for obtaining technical/ professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Marathi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
30%	40%	10%	20%

11. Kolami

Kolami is a Dravidian tribal language spoken in Yavatimal in Maharashtra. It is not used in education and no instructional materials have been prepared in this language. Kolami speakers are bilinguals in Kolami and Marathi. The mother tongue speakers of Kolami reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Marathi
80%	90%	90%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec	College
Marathi.	100%	100%	100%	20%
English	-	50%	50%	-
Hindi	-	50%	50%	-

Medium of Instruction

Marathi	100%	100%	100%	20%
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Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kolami	100%	100%	-	-
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%
Hindi	60%	60%	50%	50%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Kolami and Marathi. About 50% of them have acquired language skills in Hindi and English as well as they have studied them as subjects in schools. Though Kolami is a Dravidian language more close to Telugu, no respondent has mentioned that he is proficient in any other Dravidian language. It appears that they are isolated from other Dravidian language speakers and do not have an opportunity to communicate with them.

Language Attitude

There have been different kinds of answers in response to the question, which language they like the best and which the least. It is interesting to note that almost all the respondents have said that they like Marathi

as the best for various reasons of its being easy to learn; it provides them basic education; it is studied from the childhood; it is like 'second' mother tongue we converse in etc. Most of them consider English as least preferred language for the reasons of its being difficult to learn; it is 'complicated' in pronunciation and grammar; it is of no immediate use to them etc. As their mother tongue Kolami does not have any role in education and administration, they consider Marathi as their primary language, which they acquire from their childhood in the Marathi speaking environment.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Marathi	English	Hindi
Newspapers	50%	5%	20%
Radio	50%	-	50%
TV	60%	-	20%
Films	50%	-	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/ professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of Marathi. 90% read in Marathi and 10% in Hindi and English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 50% say that they read in Marathi and 50% in English.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Govt.	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
70%	20%	10%	-

Questionnaire 2

The questionnaire administered to parents sought information on their name and address (optional), state, sex, their mother tongue, other

languages known, place of birth, place of work, educational qualifications, profession, which language or languages they use at their place of work, which languages have their children studied or are studying at various levels, which language is used by them as medium of instruction at different levels, which language parents use at home for talking to their children, what kind of job would they like their children to take up, which language would they like the children study for securing a suitable job, and finally which language would they like their children to use as medium of instruction in Higher education for obtaining a suitable job.

The data obtained from the questionnaires are presented state and language wise.

1. *Tamil*

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Tamil mother tongue speaking parents in Chennai. Besides knowing Tamil, 80% of the respondents know English, 20% know Hindi and 10% know Malayalam. 70% of them are postgraduates, 20% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 60% of them have government jobs, 30% work in public sector and 20% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Tamil (60%) and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Tamil	80%	80%	80%	80%
English	80%	100%	100%	-

Languages used as medium of instruction are:

Tamil	50%	50%	50%	70%
English	50%	50%	50%	30%

The respondents use Tamil (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents report the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
40%	30%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in both Tamil and English languages is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (80%) as compared to Tamil (20%) as medium of

instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

2. Kannada

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Kannada mother tongue speaking parents at Mysore in Karanataka.. Besides knowing Kannada, 80% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi and 20% know Tamil. 60% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 50% of them have government jobs, 20% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Kannada (70%), Hindi (10%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Kannada	50%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	20%	60%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are:

Kannada	50%	50%	50%	50%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%

The respondents use Kannada (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public	Sector	Technical
60%	20%	10%	10%	-

The parents state that proficiency in Kannada, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Kannada (10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

3. Telugu

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Telugu-speaking parents in Hyderabad. Besides knowing Telugu, 80% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi/Urdu and 10% know Tamil. 30% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 30% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector

and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Telugu (40%), Hindi (20%) and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Telugu	70%	70%	70%	40%
Hindi	20%	100%	100%	-
English	60%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are as follows:

Telugu	40%	40%	40%	40%
English	60%	60%	60%	30%

The respondents use Telugu (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
20%	50%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Telugu, Hindi and English is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

4. *Hindi*

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Hindi mother tongue speaking parents in Delhi. Besides knowing Hindi, 80% of the respondents know English, 10% know Urdu and 10% know Punjabi. 30% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 30% have studied up to High School or have some technical qualifications. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Hindi (80%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Hindi	80%	80%	80%	30%
English	60%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are as follows:

Hindi	60%	60%	60%	40%
English	40%	40%	40%	60%

The respondents use Hindi (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
30%	40%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Hindi and English is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

5. Punjabi

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Punjabi mother tongue speaking parents at Patiala in Punjab. Besides knowing Punjabi, 80% of the respondents know English, 80% know Hindi and 20% know Urdu. 60% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 50% of them have government jobs, 40% work in Public sector and 10% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Punjabi (70%) and English (30%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Punjabi	90%	100%	100%	20%
English	30%	100%	100%	40%

Languages used as medium of instruction are as follows:

Punjabi	40%	40%	40%	50%
English	60%	60%	60%	50%

The respondents use Punjabi (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
30%	40%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Punjabi, Hindi and English

are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Punjabi (10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

6. *Kashmiri*

The questionnaire was administered to 30 parents whose mother tongue is Kashmiri at Jammu and Udhampur towns in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Besides speaking Kashmiri as the mother tongue, 80% of them know English, 100% Hindi and/or Urdu, 10% Sanskrit and 10% other languages like Sanskrit/Persian/Punjabi/Dogri. All of them are educated: post-graduates (30%), graduates (60%) and 10% matriculates or of some lower technical qualifications. They use Kashmiri (20%), Hindi/Urdu (40%) and English (40%) at their places of work in oral and written communication.

Their children have studied or are studying the following languages at school and college:

	Primary	Middle	High./Sec	College
Hindi	40%	40%	40%	20%
Urdu	60%	60%	60%	10%
English	20%	100%	100%	100%

The media of instruction is as follows:

Hindi	50%	50%	50%	20%
Urdu	50%	50%	50%	20%
English	50%	50%	50%	80%

Languages they speak at home with children are : Kashmiri (70%), Hindi/Urdu (20%), and English (10%). Parents have the following job preferences for their children:

Govt	MNC	Public Sector	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

According to the opinion of the parents proficiency in English and Hindi/Urdu is required for obtaining a suitable job. They say that the preferred medium of instruction in higher education should be English for getting a suitable job.

7. *Dogri*

The data was collected from 30 parents who speak Dogri as their mother tongue from Jammu and Udhampur towns in the state of Jammu and

Kashmir. All the informants were educated: post-graduates (40%), graduates (50%) and 10% were undergraduates and with lower technical qualifications. Besides speaking Dogri as their mother tongue they reported the knowledge of other languages: English (80%), Hindi (80%), and Urdu (10%). 40% of them are working in government, 30% in public sector, 20% in private organisations and 10% are engaged in their own business. They use Dogri (20%), Hindi/Urdu (40%), and English (40%) in their oral and written communication at the places of their work.

Languages their children study or have studied are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/	College
Hindi	70%	70%	70%	20%
Urdu	30%	30%	30%	10%
English	20%	100%	100%	60%

Their media of instruction at different levels has been the following:

Hindi	50%	50%	50%	-
Urdu	30%	30%	30%	-
English	20%	20%	20%	100%

Languages they speak with the children at home are: Dogri (80%), Hindi/Urdu (10%) and English(10%).

They prefer the following types of jobs to be taken up by their children:

Govt.	Public sectors	MNC	Business
40%	30%	20%	10%

They consider adequate knowledge of Hindi /Urdu and English necessary for obtaining a suitable job. They also prefer the use of English as the medium of instruction for higher education to ensure suitable job for their children.

8. Oriya

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Oriya mother tongue speaking parents at Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in Orissa.. Besides knowing Oriya, 60% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi and 10% know Bengali. 40% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 20% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have

government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Oriya (70%), Hindi (10%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Oriya	80%	80%	80%	40%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media f instruction are as follows:

Oriya	50%	50%	50%	50%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%

The respondents use Oriya (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
50%	20%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Oriya and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

9. Bengali

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Bengali speaking parents at Kolkata in West Bengal. Besides knowing Bengali, 80% of the respondents know English, 50% know Hindi, 10% know Assamese and 10% know Oriya. 50% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 60% of them have government jobs, 20% work in Public sector and 20% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Bengali (80%), and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Bengali	50%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	-	80%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as medium of instruction are as follows:

Bengali 40%	40%	40%	30%
English 60%	60%	60%	70%

The respondents use Bengali (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
50%	30%	10%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Bengali and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Bengali (10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

10. Marathi

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Marathi mother tongue speaking parents in Nagpur in Maharashtra. Besides knowing Marathi, 70% of the respondents know English, 70% know Hindi and 10% know other languages. 40% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 20% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Marathi (40%), Hindi (20%), and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.	College
Marathi	90%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	10%	100%	100%	-
English	80%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as medium of instruction are

Marathi	50%	50%	50%	70%
English	50%	50%	50%	30%

The respondents use Marathi (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
20%	30%	40%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Marathi, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Marathi(10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

11. Kolami

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Kolami speaking parents in Yevatimal in Maharashtra. Besides knowing Kolami, all of the respondents know Marathi, 50% know Hindi and 10% know English. 10% of them are graduates and 30% have studied up to High School and 60% of them are illiterates. 20% of them have government jobs, 60% work as labourers in agriculture and construction works, and 20% are engaged in some technical and semi-technical jobs. The respondents use Kolami (60%) , Marathi (30%) and English (10%) in their places of work.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Sec.
Marathi	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	80%	40%
English	-	20%	20%

All of them have studied and are studying through Marathi as the sole medium of instruction. The respondents use Kolami (90%) and Marathi (10%) in communicating with their children at home. 90% parents want them to take up government jobs and only 10% of them to take up jobs in public and private sectors. The parents state that proficiency in Marathi, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (60%) as compared to Marathi (40%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

Questionnaire 3

The questionnaire 3 meant for obtaining information from potential employers from different sectors was administered to the medium and higher level organisations. It was administered to 20 employers in each language group area. The organisations included central and state

governments, public sectors, multinational organisations, hotels, private business offices etc.

The questionnaire sought information on the name and addresses (optional), state, kind of organisation, character of organisation (local, national or international), where it is situated, what kind of language skills are required in working in their organisations at different levels, which language or languages are primarily used in oral communication, which languages are primarily used in written communication, which language would they like their employees to be proficient in, proficiency in which language or languages is preferred at different levels (involving providing services/public dealings, maintenance of records/stores, clerical/secretarial assistance, administration, technical/production work) and finally do they follow an official language policy in their organisation.

The questionnaires were administered at the places where the data for questionnaires 1 and 2 were obtained. The organisations from where the data was collected fall under the categories of central government, state government, public sectors, multinational companies and business organisations. All the organisations have offices or branch offices at the places where from the data has been collected.

Besides the minimum educational qualifications required for the jobs, the state government offices follow their respective language policies in the recruitment of the staff and in their day to day work. Of course, certain states are more rigid than others. Usually, it is primarily the concerned state official language, which is used in the office work. The knowledge of other languages also is required in certain cases. Tamil Nadu follows the official language policy very strictly. Most of the work is done in Tamil. The correspondence with the other states, central government offices and other organisations or individuals located outside the state is done in English. Thus proficiency is required in both Tamil and English. Tamil is largely used in oral and written communication within the state. It is therefore necessary to have oral and written skills in Tamil and English.

According to the official language policy of Karnataka, all the work in the government offices is done in Kannada. English is used in correspondence with other states or central government organisations located outside the state of Karnataka. Proficiency in Kannada is required at all levels.

Telugu is the official language in Andhra Pradesh. Most of the work is supposed to be done in this language. The state has also recognised Urdu as the second official language in its Telengana region.

The state does not, however, follow its official language policy strictly. English finds its place in the work even at the district administration. Proficiency in Telugu is required for the jobs at the lower level. In the higher category of jobs in Secretariat, English continues to be used in both oral and written communication along with Telugu.

Hindi is the official language in Delhi. It has also recognised Urdu and Punjabi for education and certain other official domains. The administration does not follow the official language policy strictly. About 50% work at the administration both at the lower and higher levels continue to be done in English unhesitatingly.

Punjabi is the official language in Punjab. It is extensively used in the lower level administration. The offices at the District level of administration follow the official language policy very strictly. However, in the higher levels of administration English continues to be used to some extent.

The Jammu and Kashmir State government is very flexible in its official language policy. Urdu is the official language of the state and it is used only in the lower levels of administration along with English. English is widely used in the mid and higher levels of administration. Neither Kashmiri nor Dogri the languages spoken dominantly in the Kashmir valley and in Jammu area respectively have a place in the official language policy and are not used in administration. They have very limited roles in education and mass media too.

Bengali is the official language of West Bengal. It is used widely in lower levels of administration and is used along with English in the higher levels of administration. The official language policy is not followed strictly in the state.

Oriya is the official language of Orissa. It is largely used in the administration at the District and lower levels in administration. About 20% work in the state secretariat and other higher government offices still continues to be done in English.

Marathi is the official language of Maharashtra. According to the official language policy it is supposed to be used at all levels in administration. It is largely used in the District and lower levels of administration. English continues to be used in the higher levels of administration. Thus most of the state governments are not following their official language policies strictly. English continues to have a significant role in administration.

There is a well-defined official language policy of the central government. All the central government offices located in the Hindi speaking states (Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh,

Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi) have to use Hindi at all levels in administration. In the Region B (Jammu and Kashmir, Gujarat, Punjab, Maharashtra and Union Territories of Chandigarh, Andaman-Nicobar Islands) they are supposed to use Hindi along with English wherever required, and in all other states they are supposed to use only English. The central government officers and staff are supposed to acquire certain level of proficiency in the administrative use of Hindi. In practice the official language policy is not followed strictly. The recruitment to different types of posts is made as per the educational eligibility, which includes language proficiency too. All the central government organisations have stated that they follow the official language policy in work.

The public sector organisations of the State and central governments follow the language policies of the respective governments. However, in such organisations there is more flexibility of work and the government policies are not followed strictly. In the multinational and business organisations the knowledge of oral skills in local languages and all the basic skills in English are required. Most of the work is done in English.

The data obtained from the employers of non-governmental organisations lay stress on the oral communication skills in the local languages where the office or its unit is situated. They find its primary role in the areas of providing services and public dealings and in some kind of technical and production work. Besides the language proficiency in the local languages at least in oral communication, they value the adequate language skills both in oral and written communication in English.

III

Observations

In this section we will point out the major findings of the survey conducted using three questionnaires and try to find out the reasons for the results reported.

Major Findings

The major findings of the survey are as follows:

1. There is a general preference for the study of mother tongue as well as English as a subject in early school education i.e. primary and middle classes. The children whose mother tongue is not taught

- in the schools (for example, Kolami in Maharashtra, Kashmiri and Dogri in the state of Jammu and Kashmir) opt for the state official language as a subject of study. In the non-Hindi speaking states which follow the Three-language formula, Hindi is taught in addition to the state official language as well as English. Whereas the Public/ private schools introduce English as a subject from the very beginning, it is introduced as a subject at the third or sixth standard in other schools.
2. The preference for the use of English as a medium of instruction increases with the level of education. Both local languages (mostly the state official language) as well as English are preferred as the media of instruction in most of the states (though the percentages vary) in the early school education. There is a wide preference for the use of English as the medium of instruction in the secondary education and the higher education. Maharashtra appears to be the only state where both Marathi and English are equally preferred as the medium of instruction in higher education.
 3. The mother tongue is preferred as the primary language for the communication at home. It is only where the mother tongues do not have roles in education, and administration, parents prefer to use the school language (state official language and /or English) for talking to the children at home.
 4. Appropriate to a multilingual situation, the language proficiency of the respondents reveals proficiency in more than one language (though the percentages of the proficiency vary) in all the states. Most of the respondents have listed their mother tongues/state official languages higher in proficiency. Sometimes, the proficiency of languages is not linked to the language taught/learnt at school. Some languages are learnt as a result of language contact.
 5. The language attitude of the respondents appears to be directly related to their emotions. Most of the respondents like their mother tongues as 'the best'. Sometimes, the language of preference is linked to its use in the society. The Kolami speakers consider the state official language (Marathi) as the best. Similarly, a few Dogri and Kashmiri mother tongue speakers place English and/or the state official language at the higher level of their preference than their mother tongues. Though the language is an emotional issue in different states, most of the respondents avoid naming a particular language or languages they like the least. It is probably on the basis of the lack of immediate utility or difficulty levels some languages are named as the least preferred ones (like

Sanskrit).

6. Mostly local languages are preferred for reading newspapers, listening to radio, and watching television and films. Hindi and English media films appear to be second and third choices. Of course, where adequate number of television programmes and films are not available in the mother tongues of the respondents the choice of other language media is imminent.
7. The respondents mostly prefer to read for pleasure in their mother tongues (local languages). They read in other languages too if adequate reading materials are not available in these languages. In contrast to the reading for pleasure, most of them read in English for obtaining their professional and technical information.
8. Currently, there are wide options for the choice of jobs available. The respondents still prefer to take up jobs in government or public sector (perhaps, for the reason of security). It is only in the cosmopolitan towns there is more preference for taking up jobs in multinational organisations (for the reasons of higher salary) than in other sectors.

Reasons

The findings on language preferences clearly show the network relationship among the languages in the context of multilingualism. This relationship is not hierarchical. Each language is assigned a definite role by its speakers. Since the roles are not given higher or lower values in terms of the attitudes, the relationship is not hierarchical. The role relationships are mostly utility-based where both practical needs and emotional needs are combined to act together. The utility-based orientation acts as a valid reason in influencing language preferences. The main reasons underlying the language preferences are directly related to the prevailing education system and the roles assigned to English vis-à-vis other languages in India.

Education System

Let us have a look at the education system prevalent in the country. Education has always been an important issue in India and has generated a lot of discussions and debates. The government has appointed various commissions and committees to look into various issues related to education. After a long debate throughout the country, the government of India came up with New Education Policy in 1986 which has also undergone some modifications later. Education scenario is to be viewed at two levels: school and college with special reference

to the use of language in education.

There are five types of schools: government schools, Central and Sainik schools, Navodaya schools, public schools, and private schools. All the government schools established by the state governments all over India use the regional or state official languages as the media of instruction. In certain cases especially in Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya where English continues to be used as the main official language in administration, English is used as the medium of instruction in government schools too.

The Central and Sainik schools too use English as the medium of instruction, though there is a choice for the use of Hindi as well. The English medium Central and Sainik schools have been established by government of India to cater to the needs of the central government employees and army personnel who are transferable from one place to another so that their children can pursue their studies using the same textbooks, curriculum and the medium of instruction.

Following the recommendations of the New Education Policy (1986) the government of India has established Navodaya schools as model schools of learning for rural students. These schools are expected to tap the talented rural students and equalise the opportunities of quality education between the rural and urban students. These schools too use English as medium of instruction. In practice, these schools are also responsible in extending the English as medium of instruction in rural areas. Viswanathan (1992) describes these schools as 'the government's capitulation to pressures from the rural rich, who have become fully conscious of the value of English education.'

The public schools simply continue the colonial tradition in Indian education. English is the medium of instruction. The government of India has recognised their autonomous status in the design of their curriculum, staff pattern supporting it under the plea that these schools promote national rather than regional synthesis of culture and serve all India needs. Under the articles 19 and 30 of the Constitution of India, the linguistic minorities have constitutional right to establish and administer the educational institutions of their own choice. The public schools cater to the needs of the children of the elite class who can afford the expenses. Following the model of public schools there is a mushroom growth of the English medium private schools all over the country to cater to the growing needs and aspirations of the rising middle class who are deprived the opportunities of the expensive public schools or are denied access to the government run English medium Central and Sainik schools. As pointed out by Dua (1996:569) the public school system, both directly and indirectly, has served as a model in expanding English medium education as well as in

legitimizing it.

English has a wide preference in education at the college level too. The higher education in India presents a complex situation. There are all India level top-ranking institutions of agriculture, science, technology, management, medicine etc. There are some central universities too. They are supposed to provide models of excellence. There are numerous regional and state level institutions, which offer various subjects of study. It has been observed that most of the students who have studied in the public schools or Central schools are able to compete for admission to the all India level top institutions. Those who study through other English medium schools get admission in the regional institutions of higher learning. The same is true for selections to all India top central civil services. Though there is an option for the use of prominent regional languages as medium, but English medium gets higher preference for some other reasons. An important reason being the availability of instructional materials in these languages.

There have been recommendations for and against the change of medium of instruction in the all India type institutions. Education Commission Report (1964-66) is in favour of the continuation of English as the medium of instruction and not to switchover to Hindi for the time being. According to it a changeover to Hindi may be considered in due course 'depending firstly on the effective development of Hindi as a medium of instruction at this level and secondly on the condition that the chances of students from non-Hindi areas should not be adversely affected and that the proposal should have the support of the non Hindi states.' However the National Education Policy does not specify any such condition. It says, 'All India institutions (those which admit students from all regions of the country) should use Hindi and English as media of instruction, having regard to the needs of students. Admission to these institutions should be so planned that students educated through any Indian languages are not at any disadvantage,' (quoted in Dua 1996: 572).

Considering the prevailing situation in the country, it is unlikely that the shift can take place soon. The situation is likely to prevail in the years to come keeping in view of the expansion of education, dominance of English educated elite and intellectuals, spread of English and its use in fast growing information technology.

Role of English

The data obtained from the questionnaires 1 and 2 amply show that the role of English in education is very significant in both school and college education. There is a preference for the study of English as a subject and

its use as medium of instruction at different levels of education. The data obtained by administering the questionnaire 3 to the employers also confirms that there is a wide preference for oral and written communication skills in English in multinational companies, and private business establishments at different levels. English is also preferred in the governmental organisations and public sectors too and is assigned certain functional roles.

It is not out of place to consider the role of English in the expansion of education in India and language conflicts between English and other Indian languages. English came to India with the British. It was selected by the British primarily for their own administrative convenience, and for bringing India in the fold of the contemporary world of knowledge of science and technology required for its development. Keeping in view the diversity of languages in India, it was decided by the rulers to use English for imparting knowledge of European science, technology and literature. Thomas B. Macaulay felt that English should be the language in which the educated people in India would communicate with one another and with the British and through which they would acquire modern knowledge. The idea of using English as the medium of instruction was supported by eminent Indian intellectuals like Raja Ram Mohan Roy at that time. As a result of this the British government provided funds for education imparted through English only. Use of English in education marked the beginning of the British system of education, which had its own structure and discipline. The legacy of this colonial system still continues in India especially in the domain of public schools.

After independence, the issues related to education and the role of English in it continued to be debated. Some kind of nationalist feelings were expressed against English. There was even a demand to abolish the public school system. The Constitutional provision for the replacement of English by Hindi as the official language within stipulated time frame of 15 years (article 343) was projected as the conflict between English and Hindi as language of power. This provision triggered agitation against Hindi in some non Hindi-speaking areas in India, which ultimately provided a lease to the continuation of English as an associate official language of the Union for indefinite period of time. This has strengthened English further. The VIII schedule of the Constitution of India does not include English. This has not hampered the increasing use of English in education and its roles in other domains. As English has important roles in different domains, it looks absurd why it cannot find place in the VIII schedule. The Supreme Court in its judgment in the Bombay Education Society case has ruled as early as in 1954 that English was as much as Indian language

as any other.

Keeping in view the needs of the current education system, increasing knowledge in the areas of science, technology and other fields, it is important to have an efficient medium for acquiring it. In comparison to the world's other languages, English has gained an advantageous position. It is not only cultivated by the English mother tongue speakers but by others too. Fishman (1982:15) rightly remarks 'the spread of English has reached such an order of magnitude that it is now significantly fostered by the non – English mother tongue worlds, rather than being predominantly dependent on resources, efforts or personnel of the English mother tongue world.' It is more so now after the evolution of information society where immediate information is highly valued.

As the data obtained from the survey indicate that English is widely being used as the subject of study and as medium of instruction at different levels of school and higher education in India, there is, however, a need to improve the language teaching methods and to adapt the contents to suit the local environment. Keeping in view the needs of the students the so-called 'nationalist' feelings against English have faded away. Some states (Maharashtra, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir etc.) have decided to introduce English as a subject in government schools right from the primary classes. Maharashtra government appointed a committee in 1993 to identify the needs of the students in Maharashtra and have prepared need based textbooks, which are suitable for the students in Maharashtra..(RV Dhongde - personal communication). This should as a model for other states to follow. There is a need to improve the language teaching methods.

India has by and large realised the importance of English in education. Its role and function in education have undergone significant changes lately. English is no more viewed as a language of convenience used by the British for administration, but as a vehicle for acquiring modern scientific and technological knowledge crucial for the economic development. No matter how many attempts are made to arouse sentiments against the English language by projecting it as an alien language for political reasons, its importance in education cannot be ignored. It is the market force which reign supreme. English is accepted throughout the country as the only medium for their access to modern knowledge and will continue to be so in the years to come.

Conclusion

The present survey conducted in different parts of India by administering questionnaires and by interviewing teachers, educationists and opinion leaders on the language preferences in education indicate several things.

All the states are using their state official languages adequately in education. It is taught as a subject compulsorily in the state run schools and an additional subject in some English medium private schools too. The states have prepared materials following the models for the preparation of textbooks developed at the national level. The textbook boards and other agencies are engaged in the preparation of textbooks, the state teacher training institutes conduct training programmes for the in-service teachers in the use of textbooks and modern language teaching methods. There is a scope for its improvement.

Teaching of English as a subject is on a continuous increase throughout the country. Previously, it was taught from the sixth grade onwards in the government schools, it is now introduced earlier. Some states now teach it as a subject from the first grade onwards. There is a mushroom growth of English medium private schools. They are catering to the needs of the rising middle class, which has understood the importance of English in education. There is a scope for the preparation of need based textbooks in English which are suitable to the local environment. The textbooks have to lay more emphasis for the development of basic language skills. There is a strong need for imparting training to the English language teachers in the use of textbooks, supplementary materials and modern language teaching methods including the multimedia. Similarly, in the higher education advanced skills need to be imparted which are relevant to the needs of students.

The language in education policies adopted by the states need a serious revision. Sometimes, the policies dictated by politicians are not clear and suffer from indecision in crucial matters. The states have to be realistic and consider the needs of the people and their aspirations. It is the market forces, which lead the students and parents in taking the decisions on all matters of education including the use of education in education. In the name of devising policies, people cannot be fed on the empty slogans of nationalism by politicians. Their socio-economic interests are to be protected. Education has a crucial role in it.

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APPENDIX

Survey of Language Preferences in Education

Questionnaire I (To be Filled by Students)

Name and Address (Optional): _____ State: _____

Age: (Up to 13)____(14—18)____(19 - 25)____ (Above 25)____

Mother Tongue _____ Other Languages Known:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Languages Studied at different levels:

Primary	Middle	High/.Hr Sec	College/Univ
1. _____	1. _____	1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____	2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____	3. _____	3. _____

Medium of Instruction:

Primary School Middle School High School College/Univ.

Language Proficiency:

Language	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
1. _____				
2. _____				
3. _____				
4. _____				

Out of these which language you like the best, and which one the least and why?

Languages Used/Preferred in

Reading Newspapers: 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Listening to Radio : 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Watching TV: 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
 Watching Films: 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

In which language do you read for pleasure?

In which language do you read for obtaining professional/technical information?

What kind of job/profession would you like to take up?

Government __ Public Sector __ Private sector __ Tourism/Hotel __

Multinational __ Business __ Industry __ Technical __ Administrative __ Any other __

Questionnaire II (To be Filled in by Parents)

Name and Address (Optional): _____ State : _____

Sex: Male _____ Female _____

Mother Tongue _____ Other Languages Known _____

Place of birth _____ Place of work _____

Educational Qualifications:

Illiterate _____ Primary/Middle _____ High / Hr Secondary _____

Graduate _____ Post-Graduate _____

Profession:

Business _____ Govt. Service _____ Private Service _____

Technical _____ Any other _____

Which language(s) do you primarily use at the place of work?

Which language(s) do your children study/have studied ?

Primary _____ Middle _____ High/Hr Sec _____ College _____

Which language is/was used by them as Medium of education?

Primary _____ Middle _____ High/Hr Sec _____ College _____

Which language(s) do you use at home for talking to children?

What kind of a job would you like your child/children to take up?

Govt Service __ Private Service __ Own Business __ Technical __

Which language(s) would you like your child/children to study for securing a suitable job?

Which language would you like your child/children to use as medium of instruction in Higher education for obtaining a suitable job/placement in

Govt sector __ Private sector __ Business __ Technical Profession __

Questionnaire III (To be Filled in by Employers)

Name and Address (Optional): _____ State: _____

What kind of Organisation you are working in?

Government (State/Central) __ Public Sector __ Corporate __ Multinational

__ Business __ Tourism __ Industry __ Hotel __ Any other __

What is the character of the Organisation?

Local _____ National _____ International _____

Where is it situated?

Town _____ City _____ Large city _____ State capital _____

What kind of language skills are required in working in your organisation at

different levels?

Oral Communication in _____

Written Communication in _____

Which language(s) is/are primarily used in oral communication?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Which language(s) is/are primarily used in written communication?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Which language(s) would you prefer an employee to be well versed in?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Proficiency in which language is preferred at different levels which involve:

- a. Providing services/ Public dealings _____
- b. Maintenance of records/stores _____
- c. Clerical/Secretarial assistance _____
- d. Administration _____
- e. Technical/Production work _____

Do you follow an Official Language Policy in your organisation?

Elementary Education in India

1. Introduction

Education is a continuous process of life long learning, essential for human resource development. It is a potent instrument for bringing about upward economic and social mobility. Education precedes social transformation. It is a strong pillar for making democracy a success. Elementary education has an important role in the development of a country.

Elementary education is preparatory. It prepares the pupil to go on to something else, and put his foot on the first step of the ladder of knowledge. Primary education must do everything possible to make pupils feel that they belong a society, to knit them into a social fabric, and make them aware of their social responsibilities. The NCERT (1970) identifies the objectives of elementary education thus: (i) to enable self-realization; (ii) to develop better human relations, and (iii) to enable fulfillment to civic responsibilities.

The UNESCO document (1971) notes the reasons for primary education being considered as the most sensitive area of educational planning. Some of these are as follows:

1. Pupils enter at the tender age of five or six and are scheduled to leave at twelve or fourteen. In these impressionable years, they acquire thought processes and habits, which affect them throughout their lives.
2. Many of the young, especially in rural areas, will never receive any further school experience.
3. Any egalitarian educational frame must provide minimum learning skills to all.
4. Primary education bears the brunt of today's education explosion.

Education, primary education in particular, is expected to bring about desirable behavioral changes in young children in the areas of: (1) knowledge and understanding, (2) skill and competence, (3) attitudes and interest, and (4) action patterns.

Primary education, thus, is the foundation for the development of the child in his social, intellectual, and physical aspects. The school is required to inculcate the cultural values and prepare the child for various developmental tasks of his life. It should promote expression of his innate

qualities of head, heart and hand, to their maximum capacities. Education is the basic necessity for a child to grow into a responsible citizen.

2. Historical Perspective

2.1. Pre-Independence Period

The earliest system of education in India consisted of Gurukul and PaaThshaalaas managed by the local community. The Guru-shishya parampara continued for long, and in course of time transformed into a formal education system, under the patronage of government or different religious and social organizations. Education was imparted to different religious and linguistic groups on religious and linguistic lines.

Elementary education in India remained neglected during the British Rule. The East India Company was reluctant to shoulder the responsibility for the spread and growth of primary education. The Charter Act of 1813 directed the company to accept the responsibility for primary education and earmarked funds for the purpose, but not much progress was made.

Primary education of the masses received a severe blow with Lord Macaulay's decision in 1835, to adopt English as the medium of instruction. Wood's Dispatch of 1854 tried to rectify the damage and stressed the importance of the vernacular language in the spread of primary education. Another positive step was Campbell's scheme of 1837, which brought all schools under the grants-in-aid scheme and threw open the schools to inspections by the education department.

But the Hunter Commission of 1883 recommended that primary education should be the instrument to enable people to fit into their life positions. Thus, according to the interests of the British rulers, was to be the continuance of the prevailing social and economic order, where the highest role assigned to Indians was that of clerks in the government departments.

The Government of India Resolution of 1904 recognized that primary education was an important duty of the State; and Lord Curzon took an interest in qualitative and quantitative improvement of primary education. In spite of this, primary education did not spread much. There were countrywide agitations demanding reforms in the education system. G.K. Gokhale on the 19th March 1910, moved a resolution in the Indian Legislative Council stating "this council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country". In 1921, education became a transferred subject. Incidentally, the Hunter Commission (1883) had recommended decentralization of education planning.

The Congress governments formed in 1937 attempted to spread primary education. Around this period Gandhiji's Wardah Plan, with emphasis on basic education, was brought into action.

Towards the end of the Second World War, in 1944, a Central Advisory Board on education was set up under the chairmanship of John Sergeant to prepare a comprehensive plan for the educational development in India. It suggested that a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14, be introduced as early as possible. This was indeed a significant development.

The end of British Rule on the 15th August 1947, generated in the people a new hope, high aspirations and expectations of a new life. The constitution reflects this in its Article 45, which states that "the state shall endeavor to provide, a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years".

2.2 Post - Independence Period

The period after independence till the mid sixties saw a spectacular expansion of education at all stages. The policies and programmes pursued and implemented were based mainly on the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission and Mudaliar Commission. The Radhakrishnan Commission took into consideration all aspects of university education, and the Mudaliar Commission was for secondary education and its linkage with primary, basic and higher education.

In 1961, the government established the NCERT, which acted as the principal agency for academic advice to the Ministry of Education, especially for improvement of school education. It works in close collaboration with the education departments of the states and other institutions having an interest in school education. The council also implements UNESCO and UNICEF assisted projects in the areas of elementary education: Community education, nutrition education and population education.

The Government of India has appointed various commissions from time to time for making recommendations for the improvement of education and has, consequently, adopted new policies. The government set up an Education Commission, headed by Dr. D.S. Kothari. The terms of reference for the Kothari Commission were to advise the government on the national pattern of education at all stages and in all its aspects, besides examining socioeconomic problems in the universalization of education. Some of the main points of the report were:

- a. **Stress on moral education and inculcation of a sense of social**

responsibility. Schools should recognize their responsibility in facilitating the transition of youth from the work of school to the world of work and life;

- b. Introduction of work-experience, which includes manual work, of experience, etc., and social service as an integral part of general education at almost all levels of education; Special emphasis on the training and quality of teachers for schools; and
- c. Development of quality or pace-setting institutions at all stages and in all sectors.

A Committee of Members of Parliament was constituted in 1967, to consider the report of the Kothari Commission, to prepare a draft of a statement on the National Policy on Education for the consideration of Government of India, and identify a programme for immediate action. The highlights of the Committee's recommendations are:

- a. The provision of free and effective primary education on a compulsory basis.
- b. The first step is to create the ten-year school period providing a common pattern of general education for all children.
- c. There is an urgent need to upgrade and improve school curricula, to increase their knowledge content and to provide adequately for the development of skills and the inculcation of right interests, attitudes and values;
- d. Regarding examination reform, attention should be concentrated in three major areas: reduction of the dominance of external examination, introduction of reforms to make them more valid and realistic, and adoption of a good system of internal evaluation.
- e. The unhealthy segregation of schools for the rich and poor should be ended. Primary schools should be common schools of the Nation.

The development of a proper language policy can greatly assist in strengthening national unity. The key programme will be to develop all India languages and to adopt them as media of education at all stages.

2.2.1. *National Policy on Education - 1968*

Based on the recommendations of the Kothari Commission and that of the Committee of Members of Parliament, a National Policy on Education was issued by the Government on July 24, 1968. The main points of the policy are as follows:

I. Free and Compulsory Education

Free and compulsory for all children up to the age of 14; suitable

programmes should be developed to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools.

II. Status, Emoluments And Education of Teachers

This should receive high priority. Teachers must be accorded an honored place in society; their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate, and their academic freedom should be guaranteed.

III. Development of Languages

The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for education and cultural development.

IV. Equalization of Educational Opportunity

Regional imbalances should be corrected and good educational facilities should be provided in rural and other backward areas. Education of girls should receive emphasis, as should education among the backward classes. A common school system should be adopted.

V. Work-experience and National Service

The school and community should be brought closer through suitable programmes of mutual service and support. Work experience and national service should become an integral part of education.

VI. Production of books

Quality of books should be improved. Efforts should be made to have a few basic textbooks throughout the country.

VII. Examinations

To improve the reliability and validity of examinations and to make evaluation a continuous process.

VIII. Expenditure on Education

Investment on education should be increased every year so as to achieve a level of 6% expenditure of the National Income on education.

The various commissions on education, the committee of members of parliament and the National Policy on Education 1968 had identified the required areas and given the direction.

As per the constitution, education was a state subject. Various state governments introduced schemes of mid-day meals, balwadis, anganwadies', etc. Mass media like radio and television were used for imparting education. SITE was a successful effort through the medium of television. But all these efforts were not enough.

In 1976, education was shifted from the state list to the concurrent list and made the joint responsibility of the union and state governments. Another experiment was conducted using the audio-visual medium of T.V. called STEP. The impact of T.V. was however limited, as the coverage of T.V. was not wide enough.

All the actions in the field of education have not shown tangible progress or qualitative improvement in universalization of education.

2.2.2. The New Educational Policy

Some of the problems that have irked us in the past and are likely to do so in the future are: the high incidence of dropouts, mainly due to socioeconomic factors; the curriculum being irrelevant to the needs of the people of the area; the non-availability of material and basic infrastructure; the problem of communication and understanding due to the medium of instruction; the low status and poor working conditions of teachers; the emphasis on examination and formal methods of teaching. Insufficient expenditure on education wrong priorities in distribution of the outlay within education, and implementation of programmes and policies have in no mean measure produced low results, keeping us a long way from our objective. The New Education Policy 1986 has taken into account the causes for failure of achieving universalization of Education and intends to do the following:

(i) *Education for equality*

The new policy will lay special emphasis on the removal of disparities: education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women; a well conceived edge in favors of women. Equalization of educational development of SC population in all four dimensions: rural male, rural female, urban male, urban female, with that of the non SC population, through incentives to send children to school, pre-metric scholarships, constant micro-planning and verification to ensure that the enrollment, retention and successful completion of courses by SC students do not fall at any stage, recruitment of teachers from S.C. etc. Education of S.T., through priority being accorded to opening primary schools in tribal areas, development of curricular and instructional materials in tribal languages at initial stages, educated tribal youths will be encouraged to take up teaching in tribal areas, incentive schemes keeping in view their special needs and life style, etc. To integrate in the physically and mentally handicapped with the general community as equal partners. Suitable incentives to educationally backward areas, especially rural, hill, desert, remote and inaccessible areas.

(ii) *Reorganization of education at different stages*

It lays special emphasis on development of the young child especially through Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) which will be

integrated with the ICDS programme. At the elementary education level too a child centered and activity based approach is to be adopted. Essential facilities in primary schools and operation Blackboard to improve primary schools is to be undertaken. Non-formal education especially for school dropouts, working children and girls, through the use of modern technological aids. The curriculum will be on the lines of the national core curriculum. Running of NFE centers will be done through voluntary agencies and panchayatiraj institutions. Highest priority is being accorded to the problem of dropouts. The targets have been redefined as universalization of elementary education till age 11 by 1990, and by 1995, free and compulsory education up to 14 years of age. Pace setting schools which will be residential and free of charge are to be set up to serve the objective of excellence coupled with equity and social justice, to promote national integration to develop the full potential of children and to become a catalyst for a nation-wide programme of school improvement.

Vocationalisation to reduce the mismatch between demand and supply of skilled manpower. Open university, rural university, technical and management education, delinking of degrees from jobs are some other areas of reorganization.

(iii) Reorienting the content and process of education

The existing schism between the present system of education and the country's rich and varied cultural traditions is sought to be bridged.

De-culturation, dehumanization and alienation is sought to be avoided at all costs. These are intended to be achieved through value education, a more energetic and purposeful implementation of the language policy, measures to improve the quality of books and provide them at low prices, the use of media and educational technology, mathematics teaching, science education, sports and physical education etc.

It also intends to re-cast the examination system to bring in continuous and comprehensive evaluation, de-emphasis on memorization and the use of grades in place of marks etc.

(iv) The teacher

The status of teacher, pay and service conditions are sought to be improved according to their social and professional responsibilities. Methods of recruitment are sought to be modified to suit the spatial and functional requirements. Incentives for good performance and disincentives for non-performance are to be introduced. Teachers' education is recognized as a continuous process. District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET)

will be established with capability to organize pre-service and in-service courses for elementary school teachers and for the personnel working in non-formal and adult education.

(v) The Management of Education

An Indian Education Service as an All India Service is to be established to give a proper management structure to education. The Central Advisory Board of Education will play a pivotal role in reviewing educational development, determining changes and monitoring implementation similar boards could be set up at state and District level. Local communities, voluntary agencies and allied institutions will be encouraged and have a significant role to play.

The NEP 1986 brings into focus the areas requiring attention and has spells out in concrete terms the action that should be taken to achieve a higher and better level of education in the country.

The question now is how best to approach the problem of universalization of elementary education and how can we successfully implement it? The significant and disturbing aspects that hinder achievement of universal elementary education must be rectified.

To start with, the shortfalls in enrollment must be removed. The socially disadvantaged group who are on the periphery of the schooling system must be brought into the system. The environment/background of a child is an important aspect, which affects the child's ability and desire to learn.

Adult education should be linked to universalization of elementary education. A literate parent sends the child to school, takes interest in the child's education, can give it some guidance and recognize his responsibility towards giving at least primary education to his child.

Secondly, official and non-official agencies can undertake door to door counseling and enroll non-attending children. Direct action is required in overcoming resistance to education of girls. Efforts made so far have been very few. Systematic and continuous effort is required in these areas.

Education and enrollment are mostly treated synonymously. Hence, when we say education is compulsory it ends up as making enrollment compulsory. Enrollment is like bringing the horse to the water, but what is of essence is making it drink. In the context of education, it would be retention, and the reduction in the incidence of dropouts. The reasons for dropouts are mainly socioeconomic. Before children are old enough to work, they attend school, and the school is a sort of free baby sitter. Once the child is old enough, it drops out. Education may be free, but in reality it is not opportunity cost-free. Undoubtedly, unless poverty is eradicated, dropouts cannot be prevented. But if the system of imparting education is

suitably modified so as to teach these poor children when they can learn, dropouts can be considerably reduced. There can be both full time and part time schools. The schemes of midday meals, already being implemented require to be managed better and this scheme should increase its coverage to give impetus to poor children to attend school.

Another very basic reason for dropouts is the high incidence of failures. In the present fixed time in each grade and annual examination system, a number of students who are unable to achieve the required standard in that time, fail in examinations and automatically dropout. What is required is a shift to an upgraded system with some form of assessment to ensure that a set of things have been learnt by the primary students, time being flexible. Classes should be of smaller size of 15 to 20 students. If they are too big, as they are at present, it is not possible for the teacher to give the requisite attention to each student. As a result of this the number of teachers per school are to be increased. The single teacher schools need to be converted to 4-5 teachers.

An important reason for dropouts is the lack of relevance of education to the needs of the child. Presently, the system churns out children who are neither able to take on something new, nor fit into the old environment. The curriculum requires revision. The NEP 1986 intends to bring about changes in the curriculum. Children need to be taught arithmetic, language and science, with reference to local environment, counteracting superstitions and creating a rational outlook. There should be emphasis on physical education, sports and games, fine arts and cultural activities. The members of the local community who possess those expert skills can teach the children skills. Children should participate in socially productive work. The aim is to create in the child a desire for learning and not just prepare him for admission to secondary school, which is presently the overriding objective of primary and secondary education. For those desirous of going on to further studies, suitable bridging courses can be developed. Interaction with other school children in other areas can be arranged through camps.

A child learns a lot of things outside of school. Open schools making use of natural resources, museums, factories, agriculture farms etc. need to be experimented with. A child dropped out from school cannot come back to the educational system due to the present single point entry system. If there are multiple entry points, children dropped out due to certain circumstances can come back to the system.

Experimentation and innovation in methods of teaching are to be encouraged and new dynamic methods developed to bring about independent thinking, planning and execution of projects, problem solving

by students and excellence in their areas of interests and activities.

The medium of instruction has to be the mother tongue in the initial levels. This would help him in the concept formation. During the primary education a second language, which could be a state official language, or any other language can be introduced as a subject of study. The second language may be used as the medium of instruction in the secondary or higher education. English is still preferred to be the medium of instruction in the higher education.

Teachers in the schools have a prominent role in making the children useful citizens of the country. The status of teachers, their working and service conditions need to be improved. Pre-service and in-service training programmes need to be designed to help the teachers to impart need-based education in different situations. Accountability of teachers must go hand in hand with these improvements. The district, state and central administration's monitoring agencies should keep a constant vigil and not just content themselves with statistics. They should undertake more inspections to see how exactly the schools are functioning. The local community has an important role to play in the supervision of functioning of schools. In fact, it is the local community, which can best administer its schools. It knows the requirements, the resources, and the talent.

The concept of private schools and public schools must be replaced by the community or neighborhood schools. All the children in that locality are to be educated in these schools. Children of rich and poor can go to the same schools. This would reduce quality differentials of schools to a minimum. There is a basic lack of infrastructure of institutional amenities. Minimum of basic amenities should be provided in the schools at the elementary education level.

Expenditure indicates the level of care and attention given to different socioeconomic classes of people. The dominant sections are able to demand more and get more facilities at the expense of those groups whose power to make demands is weak. How justifiable is a subsidy of 80% to higher education.

When primary education is languishing for want of money and care, and whose availability and quality affect an overwhelming majority of people and the overall development of society? The increase in expenditure on higher education has been greater than the increase in expenditure on primary education. This is true of even states like Bihar and Orissa. The unit cost of primary education in developed countries is thirty three times greater than in developing countries. This figure is only 5.5 times for higher education. We need to spend more on primary education, within the area of education.

The expenditure on education as a whole, as a percentage of GNP has been very low in India. We cannot accept that we are a poor country, for where we can on the one hand contemplate to supply microcomputers to our higher secondary schools, we certainly can find funds to build up the structure required for primary education. The basic issue therefore, is not "where do we find funds?" But "where should we put our funds?" It is a question of priorities. It is a question of basic rationality.

Allocation of funds is the first step, utilization the second. Statistics show that funds allocated have not been fully utilized by the states. Utilization has an important angle to it. Mere spending of allocated money is not utilization. It is wastage in superficial gain. There is a pressing need to move away from using funds for recruiting employees and disbursing monthly salaries and pensions. Funds available should be used to send to build the infrastructural facilities in primary schools conducive for teaching and learning. The funds should reach the schools through the local community. The local community gets it as grants-in-aid from the district, the district from the state, and the state partly from the center and partly from its own resources. This system of grants-in-aid would enable all schools to get funds and there would be no difference between a primary school of a rich local community and of a poor local community. The norms for giving grants require a change from the present elitists bias to a developmental bias.

Incentives including scholarships should be given to students of poorer sections who attend schools regularly and perform satisfactorily, with special emphasis on the disadvantaged sections like girls, SC, ST.

In addition to state funding, external sources of funding by non-governmental agencies such as private companies should be tapped and these too should be routed through the same channel of center state district local community-school.

We must also recognize the reality of the situation and set our target accordingly. We can start with education till class V for all (i.e. up to the age of 10) and then progress to education for all till class VIII (i.e. up to the age of 14) and achieve what Article 45 of the constitution has envisaged.

The immediate aim is to make children literate, better citizens, and create in them a desire and ability to contribute to the development of the society.

We have to start by bringing about a conceptual breakthrough in the thinking about the primary schools. As long as a primary schools means a bare structure of walls and roof, where formal education with teacher and student having textbooks (which anyway the student does not have), with education being imparted in the conventional way, and the whole system

under the spell of 'economy', we cannot get any better results. The basic problem is that we are trying to spread education based essentially on western, middle classes, urban concepts and values, to a traditional, poor and rural society. Education must be related to the local environment. It must be geared to the future of the children; with what job they can do when they grow up. If we do not do that, the poor will stand doubly deprived. The adults will be living at a low level of subsistence, while their children will be condemned to a life of ignorance. Even for those who are more happily placed, the poor and the ignorant will be like millstones around their neck.

Children need to be taught some basic skills. But basic skills do not develop in a vacuum. A child learns through meaningful interaction with others, with materials and with its own creations. Such development is unlikely in the bare, sad and oppressive atmosphere of a typical Indian primary school. Children need basic infrastructure facilities and trained teachers. Without these being provided, the country will never be able to reach a level of cent percent literacy.

Elementary education is of vital importance. It is imparted to a child in its formative years. That is what will make the child a worthy citizen of the country. A child of today is the hope of tomorrow. Universal elementary education is the promise of yesterday.

Medium of Instruction Across Levels of Education in India (Co-authored with L. Devaki)

The Issue

According to the widely prevalent world view the use of language as medium of instruction in the Indian educational system is in the form of a pyramidal structure. Several languages are used as media at the primary level of education and the number of media languages go on decreasing with an increase in the level of education. In effect, many languages are not used for imparting tertiary education. This paper examines the extent to which this perception is valid. It looks at the issue of medium of instruction at four levels of education, namely, primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary levels. It also looks at the issue of medium of instruction in different States and Union Territories of the country. The examination consists of comparing media of instruction within a particular point of time (Synchronic Comparison) and across two different time periods (Diachronic Comparison)

Education in the Vedic period was confined to the priestly class. It continued to be the prerogative of the higher strata of society during the Hindu and Muslim dynasties. Mostly the official languages of the governance were used as the languages of study and the media of instruction. With the advent of British, education was open to all sections of the society. Consequently, the Indian educational scene witnesses tremendous growth and expansion. After Independence, along with expanding education, efforts were centered on using Indian languages for secondary and higher education. Chaturvedi and Mohale (1976) note the use of 67 languages in school education either as a medium or as a subject. Out of these, 51 languages were used as media of instruction. These consist of three modern Foreign languages (French, Portuguese and Iranian) and forty eight modern Indian languages (Angami, Ao, Aasaan, Assamese, Bengali, Bodo/Boro, Chakhasang, Chang Naga, English, Garo, Gujarati, Hindi, Hmar, Ho, Kannada, Karen, Kharia, Khasi, Khiemnungar, Konkani, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Lushai, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Mizo, Modern Tibetan, Mundari, Nicobaree, Nepali, Oron, Oriya, Phom, Punjabi,

Rengma, Sadani, Saangtam, Santali, Sema, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Yeimchungere, and Zeliang).

A study of the languages used as media of instruction shows that the number of languages used as media of instruction in the early school education is decreasing as one goes higher up in the educational ladder. This view is indicated in comparing the findings of Third All India Educational Survey conducted in 1973 (1981) and The Fifth All India Educational Survey conducted in 1981 (1990). The number of languages used as media of instruction at the different levels of education is presented in Table 1. The findings of both the Surveys show that the number of languages used as media of instruction is progressively decreasing from the primary to the tertiary stage of education.

Table 1 - Number of Languages used as Media of Instruction

Stages of Education	Third Survey	Fifth Survey
Primary	47	43
Upper Primary	28	31
Secondary	24	22
Higher Sec	17	20

These findings are in tune with those discussed by other scholars (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981, Srivastava and Gupta 1984).

The word 'not used' has two interpretations. The first, a **synchronic** interpretation consists of comparing the number of languages used at primary and tertiary levels of education. The second interpretation is a **diachronic** one where the number of languages used as media for higher secondary education at a particular point of time is compared with the same level of education at a later point of time.

Discussions on languages used for higher levels of education have generally been from a synchronic perspective (Srivastava and Gupta 1984). In such discussions, questions raised pertain to why certain languages are not used for tertiary education. Inherent in the arguments is a vociferous defense against the perceived deficit perspective. Such arguments talk of adequacy of all mother tongues for education and address issues related to language dominance, imperialism and hegemony. In this view, educational system is seen as being mono-medial in its operation. A sole reliance on the synchronic perspective is however, misleading.

A diachronic perspective along with the synchronic view will help to get a better understanding of the educational language situation. This will show whether the non use of languages as media for higher or secondary education is a case of discontinuation or a case of 'to be used' situation.

The latter situation involves a developmental notion. This distinction between the synchronic and diachronic perspectives is essential because planners and policy makers have to evolve appropriate strategies facilitating language development and its use. In the case of discontinuation, the use of language for tertiary education would depend on other variables like the need for the continued use of language, the status and importance of language etc. This work looks at the languages used as media of instruction from a synchronic as well as diachronic perspectives.

It is also necessary to know whether this decrease in languages used as educational media for tertiary education is valid for all the States and Union Territories. To answer this question a State-wise comparison has been undertaken. The synchronic perspective consists of comparing the media of instruction at the primary and the higher secondary levels. To get a diachronic view of the languages used as media of instruction, languages used at the different stages of education in the Third and the Fifth surveys have been compared.

State-wise Comparison

Within each State / Union Territory languages used as media of instruction across four educational levels / stages have been compared. These stages are (a) Primary / Elementary (b) Upper Primary / Middle, (c) Secondary / High School and (d) Higher Secondary / Intermediate / Pre-University. The classes that are grouped under each stage are not uniform across the States. To illustrate, primary education in Andhra Pradesh is from classes I to V. In Kerala, however, it is from classes I to IV. What is significant for this discussion is the languages used as media of instruction.

The findings on Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim have not been presented. English is the media of instruction at all stages of education. Both the States have a substantial population of the tribal groups. Yet the tribal languages are not used as instructional media either for primary education or tertiary education. The findings on Goa and Daman and Diu have also not been presented. The findings are merged for these States in the Third Survey but kept separate in the Fifth Survey. Hence, the findings between both the surveys cannot be compared for these regions.

The State-wise comparison proceeds from macro level to the micro level. It deals with three issues. They are:

- ❖ **Status of languages as instructional media:** The status of languages as media of instruction at the four stages of education throughout the country.
- ❖ **Number of languages :** The number of languages used as media of

instruction in each State / Union Territory at the four educational levels and their increase or decrease.

- ❖ Languages used as media of instruction : The languages that have been used as media of instruction in each State / Union Territory and those that have been either added or deleted.

The synchronic and diachronic comparisons are limited to the second and third issues.

Status of Languages as Media of Instruction

The status of each language as media of instruction throughout the country provides us a clue about its global role as media of instruction. The data taken from the Fifth All India Educational Survey has been presented in Table 2.

Table 2 – Number of States using the corresponding Languages used as Media of Instruction at Four levels of Education

Languages	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary
Assamese	3	2	2	1
Bengali	11	12	10	5
Gujarati	8	5	5	5
Hindi	25	25	25	22
Kannada	6	5	5	2
Kashmiri	1	1	1	0
Malayalam	8	7	5	2
Marathi	7	7	6	5
Oriya	5	3	2	2
Punjabi	4	3	3	3
Sanskrit	2	1	1	1
Sindhi	5	4	3	2
Tamil	10	10	9	5
Telugu	11	11	9	5
Urdu	15	15	12	9
English	32	32	32	32

An examination of the above table shows the following:

- 1) All the States and Union Territories use English at all the levels of education. It is the most pervasive of all the media of instruction.
- 2) Hindi as the most widely used medium occupies the next higher position for all stages of education. If the number of schools are compared,

Hindi medium gets the first place (Fifth All India Educational Survey 1990). This medium is used in all the States and Union Territories except the North-Eastern States of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Kerala and the Union Territories of Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry.

- 3) Urdu occupies the third place for all the stages of education. Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu are the next widely used media of instruction at all the four stages of education.
- 4) All other languages as media of instruction fall below this position. Sanskrit and Kashmiri are the least used languages as media of instruction at all stages of education.

Number of Languages

To find out the number of languages used as media of instruction, and the nature and extent of their decrease, the total number of media of instruction have been presented in Table 3 for the Third and the Fifth Surveys separately for each State and Union Territory and for all the four stages of education.

Table 3 - Total Number of Languages used as Media of Instruction in each State and Union Territory

States/ Union Territories	Third Survey				Fifth Survey			
	P	UP	S	HS	P	UP	S	HS
Andhra Pradesh	6	9+1	9+1	7+1*	9	9	8	5
Assam	9	8	7	5	7+1	6+1	6+1	3+1
Bihar	5+1	4+1	NA	3	6+1	6+1	6	3
Gujarat	9	NA	6	NA	8	8	7	5
Haryana	1+1	2+1	2+1	2	2	2	2	2
Himachal Pradesh	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Jammu and Kashmir	4+1	4+1	4+1	4+1	4+1	4+1	4+1	3+1
Karnataka	8	8	7	5	8	8	7	6
Kerala	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	3
Madhya Pradesh	10	7	NA	7	9	8	4	3
Maharashtra	12	10	10	5	12	11	11	6
Manipur	4	4	4	3	4+1	4	4	3
Meghalaya	6	6	5	1	6+1	6+1	4	1
Mizoram	5	6	1	NA	3+1	3+1	1	1
Nagaland	4+1	4+1	3	NA	1+1	2+1	1+1	1
Orissa	7	6	7	3	6	6	6	3
Punjab	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3
Rajasthan	3	2	3	3	5	3	2	2
Tamil Nadu	9	9	9	3	6	6	6	6
Tripura	5	2	2	2	3	3	3	3

Uttar Pradesh	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	2
West Bengal	8	6	7	5	8	6	5	5
Andaman and N. Islands	9	5	NA	4	6	4	5	5
Chandigarh	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	3	NA	2	NA	3	3	3	3
Delhi	11	11	NA	11	11	8	8	8
Lakshadweep	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pondicherry	2	2	2	2	4+1	4+1	4	3

* Figure given after the + sign stands for the 'Other Languages' which generally consist of Tribal and non-scheduled and non-Tribal languages.

NA : Data Not Available

Synchronic Comparison

A perusal of the above Table 3 shows the following with regard to the synchronic comparison:

- 1) The decrease in the languages used as media of instruction is systematic only in the States of Assam and Madhya Pradesh.
- 2) The decrease in languages used as media of instruction in all other States and Union Territories may be characterized as being either unsystematic or constant.
- 3) The number of languages used as media is the same between Primary and Upper Primary stages as in the case of Karnataka, Meghalaya, Uttar Pradesh and Chandigarh in the Third Survey. According to the Fifth Survey, this trend holds good for States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Uttar Pradesh.
- 4) The number of languages used as media is the same between Upper Primary and Secondary stages in States of Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Maharashtra, Tripura in the Third Survey and Assam, Maharashtra and Manipur in the Fifth Survey.
- 5) The number of languages used as media is the same between Primary, Upper Primary and Secondary stages in Kerala, Manipur, Tamil Nadu in the Third Survey and in Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and Orissa in the Fifth Survey.
- 6) The number of languages used as instructional media for imparting Upper Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary stages of education is the same in Himachal Pradesh in the Third Survey and in Delhi, Punjab and Tripura in the Fifth Survey
- 7) The number of languages used as instructional media is the same between

Secondary and Higher Secondary levels in Rajasthan in the Third Survey and in Rajasthan, West Bengal and Andaman and Nicobar Island in the Fifth Survey.

- 8) The number of languages used as media of instruction across all the stages of education is constant in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry as in the Third Survey, and in Harayana, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep in the Fifth Survey.
- 9) In some States the number of languages used as media first records a decrease followed by increase and finally decrease as in Orissa and West Bengal in the Third Survey and Andaman and Nicobar Island in the Fifth Survey. In all these cases, There is a decrease in the Upper Primary stage, followed by increase in the Secondary stage, and final decrease in the Higher Secondary stage. In Andhra Pradesh, as per the Third Survey, the number of languages used as media of instruction is more at the Upper Primary and Secondary levels than the Primary stage itself.

Diachronic Comparison

A diachronic comparison of the number of languages used as media of instruction for the Higher Secondary education was done only for 20 States and 4 Union Territories where the complete data were available. The comparison reveals the following trends:

- 1) The number of languages used as media has been constant for 10 States and 2 Union Territories, namely, Bihar, Harayana, Kerala, Manipur, Meghalaya, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, and West Bengal, and the Union Territories of Chandigarh and Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- 2) The number of languages used as media has decreased in 7 States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and in the Union Territory of Delhi.
- 3) The number of languages used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education has been increasing in the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Pondicherry.

Comparing Primary and Higher Secondary education in the Third and Fifth Surveys diachronically reveals the following patterns:

- 1) There is a decrease at both the stages in the States of Andhra Pradesh,

Assam, Delhi, Harayana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh.

- 2) There is a decrease at the Primary stage but increase at the Higher stage as in Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- 3) There is an increase at the Primary level and decrease at the Higher Secondary stage in Rajasthan.
- 4) There is an increase at the Primary level and constancy at the Higher Secondary level as in Bihar, Manipur, Meghalaya and Punjab.
- 5) There is a decrease at the Primary level and constancy at the Higher Secondary level as in Orissa, Tripura and Chandigarh
- 6) There is constancy at both the levels as in Kerala, West Bengal, Lakshadweep and near constancy in Jammu and Kashmir.
- 7) There is an increase at both the levels as in Pondicherry.

Languages used as Media of Instruction

The third issue addressed here is about the languages that are used as media of instruction at the Higher Secondary level in each State and Union Territory. This question also involves a sub question on what languages have been added or deleted at the Higher stages of education. States and Union Territories can be divided into four groups based on the number of languages used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education in the Fifth Survey. These groups almost replicate the various versions of the Three Language Formula. They are as given below:

- a) the use of four or more languages as media of instruction,
- b) the use of three languages as media of instruction ,
- c) the use of two languages as media of instruction, and
- d) the use of a single language as medium of instruction

The languages used as media of instruction for all these groups are presented, compared and discussed.

Four Language Media Group

Eight States and two Union territories fall in this group. These are the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Delhi.

A synchronic comparison shows the use of four languages as media for imparting higher education. These are the Regional languages of the

State/Union Territory, English and Hindi. In addition, the language of the largest minority group living in the State, which sometimes has the second official language status, is used as the medium of instruction. For instance, Urdu in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, and Bihar, Bengali in Assam, Sindhi in Gujarat and Nepali in West Bengal. In certain States the language(s) of contiguous State(s) with whom the State shares its geographical border is also used as educational media. The use of Tamil and Marathi as media of instruction in Karnataka, Kannada in Maharashtra, Marathi in Gujarat, and Malayalam in Tamil Nadu exemplify such situation.

The synchronic comparison shows that languages that are deleted as media of instruction for tertiary education are generally languages of non-contiguous States. The use of Tamil and Malayalam in Gujarat, Tamil in Assam and Punjabi in Maharashtra as media of instruction has been dropped. The diachronic comparison shows that these languages were never used for Higher Secondary education in case of Assam and Maharashtra. In case of Gujarat, since the data for higher secondary education is not available conclusions about non-use of languages as media of instruction cannot be drawn.

According to the synchronic comparison, some languages are in contiguous area and yet they are not used as media for imparting tertiary education. For example, Nepali and Manipuri in Assam. The diachronic comparison shows that we cannot talk of these languages as being discontinued since they also do not appear to have been used for Higher Secondary education.

The findings in their totality shows that whenever languages are deleted from use, they are generally either the non-scheduled non-Tribal and Tribal languages or the classical languages. For example, Karen in Andaman and Nicobar Islands has been discontinued as medium of Primary education. Similarly, Arabic medium has been deleted in Tamil Nadu for Primary, Upper Primary and Secondary levels of education. Only in Assam some Tribal languages are used for imparting Higher Secondary education. Garo is used as a medium for Higher Secondary education. The situation is unstable because some Tribal languages are dropped while others are added as per the reports of the Fifth Survey. Since the languages are not specified, it is difficult to draw clear-cut inferences about the use of Tribal languages in higher education.

Three-Language Media Group

The States / Union Territories which come in this category are Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa, Punjab, Tripura, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Havel, Kerala and Pondicherry

In the States and Union Territories falling under this group, the synchronic comparison reveals that three languages have been used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education. Out of these the constants are the Regional language and English. In addition the third media is Hindi in Manipur, Orissa, Punjab, Tripura and Chandigarh, Marathi in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Kannada in Kerala, Malayalam in Pondicherry, and Urdu in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

The synchronic comparison also shows that the languages that have been discontinued as media for Higher Secondary education are languages whose speakers form a small minority. The languages that have been discontinued as media of instruction are Bengali, Oriya and Telugu in Bihar, Bengali in Manipur, Telugu and Bengali in Orissa, Urdu in Punjab, Hindi and Tamil in Kerala, and Telugu in Pondicherry.

A diachronic comparison reveals that except for Madhya Pradesh, in other States and Union Territories the number of languages used as media of instruction are the same.

In most of the states the use of several languages as media have been discontinued as shown by the synchronic as well as the diachronic comparisons. The languages that have been discontinued for Higher Secondary education as revealed by the diachronic comparison are Marathi, Sindhi, Bengali, and Gujarati. In addition to these, the synchronic comparison shows that the languages not used are Oriya and Telugu.

Some Tribal and non-Scheduled and non-Tribal languages are used as instructional media for Primary and Upper Primary education. For example, Maithili in Bihar. Other languages like Tripuri, and Mizo have been discontinued as media of instruction. As these languages are clubbed under the heading 'other languages' it is not possible to say that their non-use at the Higher Secondary level is a case of subtraction. One can only conclude that Tribal and non-Scheduled and non-Tribal languages are not used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education.

Two-Language Media Group

The States and Union Territories having two languages as media of instruction at the Higher Secondary stage of education are : Harayana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Lakshadweep. The two languages are : Hindi (which plays the role of the regional language), and English. In Lakshadweep, the regional language is Malayalam.

The diachronic comparison shows that excluding Harayana and Lakshadweep in the remaining three States the languages used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education have recorded a decrease. The media of instruction that have been discontinued are Punjabi medium

in Himachal Pradesh, Sanskrit medium in Rajasthan, and Urdu and Tibetan media in Uttar Pradesh. In Harayana and Lakshadweep, the languages used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary are the same.

The synchronic comparison reveals the non-use of 'other languages', i.e. non-Scheduled and non-Tribal languages, in Harayana, non-use of Urdu and Sindhi, and discontinuation of Sanskrit as medium in Rajasthan and of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh.

One-Language Medium Group

The North-Eastern States of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland fall in this group. In these North-Eastern States only English is used as medium of instruction for all the levels of education including tertiary education.

The synchronic comparison shows that Hindi, Bengali and Assamese and Tribal languages have not been used as media of instruction in Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland.

The diachronic comparison shows that languages other than English do not seem to have been used as instructional media for Higher Secondary education. According to the Fifth Survey the use of Mizo and Chakma as media of instruction, which was in existence during the Third Survey, have been discontinued even for the Primary stage of education.

Conclusions

The trends presented above highlight the complexity in the phenomenon of medium of instruction across the four levels of education.

- 1) The statement that less number of languages are used as media for tertiary education is a simplification of a cauldron of complexities. The number of languages used for Higher Secondary education is no doubt reduced in comparison to Primary education. To get a more appropriate understanding of the situation a diachronic perspective is also needed. The diachronic perspective shows that languages used as media of instruction have remained constant in many States, have decreased in a few States, and have increased in a few other States.
- 2) The findings in their totality indicate that in all the States / Union Territories except the States listed in Group 4, the Regional languages, Hindi and English are used as media of instruction for all the four stages of education. Usually when a State shares its border with another State speaking another language which is not Hindi, this language also finds place as a medium of Higher Secondary education.
- 3) English is the language that has been used by all the States and Union

Territories for all the four stages of education. Hindi is the second most widely prevalent medium of instruction for all the stages of education.

- 4) In terms of number of schools, however, Hindi medium schools outnumber English medium schools for all the four levels of education.
- 5) With regard to the Tribal and non-Scheduled and non-Tribal languages, they are not used as media of instruction for Higher Secondary education as indicated by the diachronic comparison. So extrapolating findings on the basis of synchronic comparison and concluding that these languages are being deleted as media of instruction is misleading. In case of these languages discussion on instructional media should focus on efforts to introduce them. One cannot talk about their discontinuation.

To sum up, the educational system within the country is not facing a reduction in the number of languages used as media of instruction. Contrary to the observations made by Srivastava and Gupta (1984), the educational system is not becoming mono-medial. Instead, it is becoming tri-medial and even quadri-medial at the Higher Secondary level of education. The regional languages are growing stronger and are being used widely for tertiary educational stages.

Multilingual Education in India: Concept and Strategies

(Co-authored with L.Devaki)

Introduction

A pervasive feature characterising the life of the people in the Indian subcontinent is that of Diversity. diversity of languages, cultures, religions, worldviews etc. This diversity is to be acknowledge, tolerated and promoted. The Constitution of India lists 22 languages in its VIII Schedule keeping in view the multilingual characteristic of the country. One important way of promoting multilingualism is through multilingual (Annamalai 1986). This paper examines the concept of multilingual education in the Indian context. It also presents an analysis of the strategies for promotion of multilingual education in India.

A perusal of literature on multilingual education in the Western context shows that the concept itself has been viewed from a narrow perspective. In the Indian context, the concept of multilingual education is extremely complex having several connotations. It is important to understand the concept of multilingual education in the Indian context.

Different strategies of multilingual education lead to different patterns of multilingualism. Any discussion on promotion of multilingual education has to talk in terms of strategies and not a single strategy of multilingual education.

Multilingual Education : Concept

The concept of multilingual education in Indian is extremely complex because of subtle distinctions that may be made between different types of multilingual education. It can be understood from two broad perspectives: (a) from the historical perspective, and (b) by comparing it with the concept of multilingual education in the Western context.

Historical Perspective

Historically speaking, the Indian language education scenario is gen-

erally divided into three phrases: Pre-British, British, and Post-Independence. This presentation shows the meaning of multilingual education has been in a state of flux, acquiring finer distinctions.

The Pre-British Phase

A picture of the language education scenario before the British came to India has been presented by William Adam in Adam's Report on Indigenous Education (discussed in Di Bona 1989). The Report studying the districts of Bengal and Bihar identifies the prevalence of four types of schools in each thana (100 Villages). In Bengal, these schools were (a) The Grammar School, (b) The Bengali School, (c) The Persian School and (d) The Arabic School.

In the Sanskrit schools, Sanskrit was the medium of instruction and grammar was the first subject to be taught followed by literature. Learning in these schools was expected to lead to careers where scholarly knowledge was used as means of earning livelihood. In the Bengali Schools, Bengali was the educational medium. Children learnt Bengali alphabets and Subhankar, a rhyming arithmetic rule. On completion of their schooling, students were expected to take up jobs of accountants- either commercial or agricultural, become village Patwaris and Amins.

The Persian schools also had a pragmatic orientation. In these schools, Persian alphabets were taught followed by teaching of Quran, Pandnamah of Sadi and Amadnamah with forms for conjugating words. This type of schooling lead to jobs related to administration, like writing petitions, legal information about the Arab Schools is scanty except that in these schools Arabic was the medium of instruction. Completion of this type of schooling is said to lead to priesthood and being attached to mosques for conducting marriage ceremonies and funeral services.

To sum up, the salient features of the educational scenario can be characterised as consisting of the following:

- a) Multilingual education had reference to diversity in curriculum, medium of instruction, teaching methods and materials.
- b) Education and religion were closely linked. Different types of schooling were geared to meet different purposes.
- c) The purpose of education influenced the curriculum that in turn influenced the medium through which it was imparted.
- d) The focus of education was on curricular heterogeneity to meet different needs of students.

The British Phase

The Britishers came to India around 1600 for commercial reasons and they brought about several changes in the economic policy of the country. One such change pertained to the revenue policy that wiped out the financial base that supported indigenous education. Consequently, the education prevalent before the advent of British moved towards a gradual demise.

Details about the educational scenario during the British rule have been extensively discussed by Khubchandani (1978). British rule in India into 1813 is reported to be marked by indifference towards education in the country. The British were busy establishing their economic and political supremacy. So indigenous education in the form of Paathashaalaas and Makhtabs were encouraged. The media of instruction in these schools were Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. As the East India Company gained territorial control necessary for trading, the royal, administrative and legal writings began to be in English in place of Persian or any other Indian Language at the federal level. In 1785 schools were established in Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivganga for teaching English to natives (Sharp 1920). From this time onwards the teaching of English as a subject was encouraged.

During the period from 1813 to 1857 the Britishers were engaged in consolidating and expanding their empire. In the year 1813, East India Company renewed its charter and Britishers assumed responsibility for education of the 'Natives'. It is from this stage onwards that the question of language of education as an issue came to the forefront.

The issue of medium of instruction became polarised in terms of two controversies, between English and the classical language Sanskrit and between English and the Indian language mother tongues. The conflict between English and Sanskrit was prevalent in West Bengal. A significant feature of this conflict is that it was not between Britishers on the one hand and Indians on the other. Many Indians themselves supported English medium education while many Britishers advocated the use of Indian Languages as education while many Britishers advocated the use of Indian Languages as educational medium. When the issue of legislating education came up in 1814, it was in favour of Sanskrit medium. But Social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy advocated English medium schools. Rammohan Roy started the first English medium school in Calcutta in 1818. This was followed by another English school started in the same year by

Joynarain Ghossal in Banaras. The controversy between English and Indian Language mother tongues was prevalent in other parts of India, the most prominent being Bombay. Here some administrators were in favour of using Indian Languages rather than Sanskrit as the medium language. Elphinstone, for instance, in 1823, established the Bombay Native Education Society for education of Indians in Marathi and Gujarathi. In these schools, English was taught as a subject (Nurullah and Naik 1956). These differing viewpoints lead to the setting of a Committee of Public Instruction in 1834 and resulted in the formulation of an Educational Policy in the famous Macaulay's Minutes of 1835. The policy explicitly spelt out that English should be the medium of education; the contents of education were made uniform and given Western orientation. From this time onwards, English medium schools flourished through patronage of government in terms of support and funding.

Towards 1854 nationalistic feelings became prominent. This was reflected in the field of education also. In 1854 the Wood's Despatch went into the issue of language education. The Despatch advocated the use of Indian Languages as instructional media. According to Aggarwal (1991) Wood recommended the knowledge of three languages, namely, mother tongue and its use as educational medium, local language (in cases where it differed from mother tongue) and English. The first condition was that it should not replace local languages and secondly, it should be taught as a subject only after the student had acquired sufficient knowledge of the mother tongue and the local language. This policy was however not implemented. Infact the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was attributed to the Despatch.

In 1871, the control of education was transferred to the Government of India. It was expected that the Wood's Despatch would be implemented. But nothing concrete could be achieved and the Despatch went into cold storage. Further, violating the spirit of the Despatch, The Indian Education Commission in 1881-1883 (also known as Hunter Commission) recommended the use of Indian languages as medium for primary education only and the use of English as medium for secondary education. With this the use of Indian language was not only neglected but also curtailed. In States like Allahabad and Punjab, universities, which were hitherto providing Indian languages as an optional medium, stopped this option. The use of Indian languages for imparting professional education was also discontinued (Nurullah and Naik 1956).

The various commissions from this time onwards focussed on

Secondary and University education. They stressed on the use of English medium for higher education and also the introduction of English as a subject at the primary level. The Sadler Commission appointed in 1917 recommended a multilingual policy at the secondary stage of education also. This policy advocated the use of Indian languages as media of instruction to teach other subjects and English medium for teaching English and Mathematics. The Swadeshi movement and leaders like Gandhi, Annie Beasant opposed the use of English as educational medium.

Subsequently, the Hartog Committee of 1929, the Wardha Educationa Scheme of 1937 and the Abbot- Wood Report of 1937, advocated the use of Indian languages upto the Secondary level. Despite these recommendations, the educational policy of the government retained English as the medium at the secondary level. Education, during this period expanded to include more number of children consequent to the Sargent Report of 1944 that made education compulsory, universal and free.

Based on this discussion the following features of the educational scenario during the British rule may be extracted:

- a) The Curriculum shifted from heterogeneity to homogeneity. It was freed from the religious flavour and oriented towards western philosophy, thought systems and scientific and technical development.
- b) Languages as media of education became a burning issue and centred around two types of controversies. In West Bengal the controversy was between English and Sanskrit whereas in Bombay it was between Indian languages and English. Irrespective of the nature of controversy, schools with English medium of instruction received patronage and were conceived as a panacea for all ills and problems of the country.
- c) Attempts were made to provide a solution to the educational medium issue by advocating a multilingual educational strategy. The strategy of education recommended by Hunter Commission and Sadler Commission was the adoption of multilingual education policy.
- d) The educational system of the country during the British period was apparently multilingual in three senses:
 - i. Children could shift over from one medium to another at the secondary stage of education. This is the successive multilingual education.

- ii. Children could study through their mother tongue in the primary stage of education with English as a subject and in the secondary stage they could study some subjects through mother tongue medium and others through English.
- iii. Multilingual education came to mean the use of one language as medium and two or more languages as subjects of study.

The Post- Independence Phase

By the end of British rule, English was widely used in the Secretariat of the Government and in the District headquarters of administration and judiciary. In effect, knowledge of English was seen to be essential. Against the background of this perception, the Constitution of the country was framed and the language education policy of free India was formulated. It was taken for granted that mother tongue would be the educational medium, for primary education. The controversy in education centred on the issue of medium at the secondary level. In order to solve this problem, some strategies of multilingual education were proposed.

Several committees and commissions were appointed and conferences were held to look into the issue of language education. The search for a common Indian language was also initiated. It was realised that minorities would not accept the dominant regional language as their educational medium. The committees, working against this background, focussed on shifting over from English to regional language media for higher education. Another crucial issue pertained to providing for education of children whose mother tongue is different from the state language. The recommendations, keeping in view the multilingual perspective, advocated the study of other languages as subject. The goal of these educational policies was promotion of national integration and unity.

The Conference of Vice-Chancellors held in 1948 fixed a limit of five years for substituting English by Indian languages at the secondary stage of education. The Congress Working Committee in 1949 looked into the needs of children speaking minority languages. They advocated a two-tier strategy of multilingual education. This consisted of (a) Using mother tongue as medium of instruction for primary education with dominant regional language as a subject at the middle school level and (b) using this regional language as educational medium for higher education. The University Education Com-

mission in 1949 recommended that the country would need three languages in its educational system: the regional language, federal language (Hindi) and English. It further recommended that higher education be imparted either through regional languages or federal language. The State Education Minister's Conference in 1949 pleaded for imparting instruction through mother tongue wherever it was different from the State language provided there were atleast 40 pupils in the whole school or atleast 10 students in class.

The Secondary Education Commission appointed in 1952 examined the question of number of languages to be studied in school. The Commission recommended the study of two languages, namely,

- (i) Mother tongue or Regional language
- (ii) One language to be chosen from the following:
 - (a) Hindi for non-native speakers of Hindi
 - (b) English
 - (c) A Modern Indian language other than Hindi
 - (d) A classical language

Following this, the official Language Commission was appointed in 1955-56 to go into the language package to be implemented in the educational system. On the basis of the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission and the Official Language Commission the Central Advisory Board of Education was appointed in 1957 to examine the issue of language education policy with reference to the constitutional provisions and national needs. It proposed the three-language formula as the strategy. According to this formula a child should study:

- (i) Regional Language or mother tongue as first language for five years
- (ii) Hindi in non Hindi areas and any other Indian language in Hindi areas as second language for three years from classes VI to VIII.
- (iii) English as third language from class VIII onwards.

These recommendations tried to place English in a more appropriate perspective within the Indian Educational system by recommending its study only from the secondary stage of education. On the minus side, the recommendation did not make a distinction between mother tongue and regional language. So students whose mother tongue was different from the regional language were compelled to

study through the regional language medium.

The Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council set up in 1959 went into the issue of educational needs of the speakers of dominant language who become linguistic minorities in other states. It recommended the use of mother tongue for these students at the primary and secondary stage of education. The Committee also recommended the use of English as the educational medium for students whose parents migrate frequently from one state to another.

The Educational Commission set up in 1964 under the Chairmanship of Dr. D.S.Kothari came out with a modified version of the Three- language Formula. The Commission recommended that the languages to be studied in school were:

- (i) Mother tongue or Regional language
- (ii) The official language (Hindi) or the associate official language (English)
- (iii) A modern Indian or foreign language not covered under (i) and (ii) and other than the language used as medium of instruction.

This modification meant that the study of either English or Hindi would become optional.

With regard to the tribal children the Commission recommended:

- (i) Use of Tribal language as medium for the first two years and oral instruction in the Regional language.
- (ii) Use of Regional language as medium from third year onwards

In 1967 Triguna Sen, the then Union Education Minister set up a 28 member Committee of Members of Parliament to review the recommendations of the Education Commission and to propose National Policy on Education. This Committee recommended the Two-Language Formula according to which students studied the following:

- a) Mother tongue/ Regional language from I to X Classes.
- b) Any other language from V to X Classes .

The teaching of third language for children from classes VIII to X was optional. Later this formula was modified to make the learning of Hindi compulsory.

Several other versions of Three-Language Formula were formulated. The 1988 version of the formula by the Central Board of Secondary Education makes the study of both Hindi and English compulsory and that regional language be selected from a list of languages. In practice, Sanskrit became the third language and study of regional language was made optional. Schools run by Kendriya Vidyalayas and certain schools of Delhi Administration follow this version of the Three-Language Formula.

The other documents and committees on Language Education Policy like the Ishwarbhai Patel Committee in 1977, Draft National Policy of Education in 1979 and National Policy of Education of 1986 and 1992 reiterated these strategies of education. The Ramamurti Committee Report in 1990 reiterated the view that where speakers of minority language constitute 10% or more of the total population one or more minority language medium primary schools should be set up according to the local needs. Such schools may provide dual medium of instruction to avoid segregation of students. In cases where the minority language speakers constitute less than 10% of the total population, minority language teachers should be provided to teach these children.

One point to be noted with regard to the post-independent phase is that, contrary to the widespread feeling about ignoring Indian languages, there have been some attempts to make education through Indian language compulsory. Gujarat University, for instance attempted to make Gujarati/Hindi the exclusive medium at college level in 1963. Similarly in 1971, Punjab also removed English medium and made provision for using Punjabi as the sole medium for education. In both these cases, the courts took the decision of protecting language rights of individuals and directed the universities to offer English as an optional medium. The state of Bombay issued a circular in 1954 forbidding English medium schools from admitting any students who were not Anglo-Indians. Here too the court questioned the validity of the government circular on the grounds of discrimination based on language. The State Government of Karnataka is also making Kannada the sole medium in all government schools and aided schools. The most recent instance is that of the Government of Tamil Nadu issuing a circular in November 1999, directing the use of Tamil as the only medium of education throughout the state. The matter is at present pending before the Judiciary. On the whole, the Characteristic features of the education scene may be listed as below:

- a) In the process of being concerned with protection of linguis-

- tic rights of both migrant and tribal population the mother tongue based multilingual education was differentiated from regional language based multilingual education.
- b) The focus on mother tongue based multilingual education resulted in the use of languages, not specified in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution, as educational media.
 - c) The language needs of tribal children became a matter of concern. In order to take care of their needs a multilingual transfer strategy has been recommended. The strategy consists of the use of tribal language as medium and regional language as a subject in the first few years of schooling followed by total switch over to the use of the regional language medium.
 - d) Multilingual education began to be concerned with the number of languages to be studied by the entire school-going population, their purpose and the duration of their study.
 - e) The study of Hindi and English became essential features of multilingual education although opinions differed on their roles and status with reference to second and third languages.

This discussion shows that India has been concerned with the protection of linguistic rights of communities and also of its citizens with a view to maintaining diversity in unity. These concerns for tribal population, for migrants, for national integration, and for linguistic rights of individuals have resulted multilingualism, which as seen above, is the outcome of different meaning of multilingual education. Thus multilingual education, in the Indian context, distinguishes between multilingualism resulting from the (a) use of indigenous language (b) use of several languages and (c) option of not using mother tongue. As will be seen later, all these meanings have provided the basis for the strategy for promotion of multilingual education in India.

Comparison

The concept of multilingual education in India can be analysed, elucidated and understood by comparing it with the concept in the Western context. The bases for comparison are definition, target, rationale and the central debate regarding the concept itself.

The definition of multilingual education in the Indian context differs from the definition prevalent in the Western and Scandinavian countries. In the Western context, multilingual education has been

defined as the use of two or more languages as media of education, either simultaneously or successively (Landry and Allard 1998). In the Indian context, multilingual education refers to the use of two or more languages in education.

The target population of multilingual education in India also differs from other countries. In the Canadian setting, multilingual education is aimed at speakers of dominant language (English) learning through another dominant language (French). In the European, British, American and Scandinavian setting, multilingual education is intended for the Puerto Rican, Chicano and Welsh immigrants. In the Indian context multilingual education is for all. Hence it encompasses the dominant language speakers, the migrants and the speakers of tribal and minority languages.

The rationale behind multilingual education is also different in the Indian context in comparison with other contexts. In the American context, multilingual education is concession granted to the immigrants generally under legal duress. In the Indian context it is simultaneously a strategy for bringing about national integration and unity, for linking local, regional, national and international identities and for accommodating minorities. It is a strategy that has been built into the educational policy. It is a means for dealings with the multilingual nature of the country. In case of tribal population, multilingual education is a strategy for maintaining links with their heritage language.

In countries like Canada, Australia and Scandinavia much of the debate centers on the question of whether multilingual education is beneficial or not; if beneficial, to identify conditions under which it is beneficial. In fact the success of immersion programmes in the Canadian setting and its failure in Scandinavia centers around this debate. In the Indian context multilingual education per se has in general not been a contentious issue. The predominant concern has been on designing various strategies of multilingual education for the promotion of various patterns of multilingualism (Srivastava, Ramasamy and Devaki 1993).

Multilingual Education: Strategies For Promotion

Ideally speaking a sound strategy for promotion of multilingual education should be based on learning through the home language. Much has been written on the advantages of learning through the home lan-

guage (Pattanyak 1981). But in reality, the effectiveness of the strategies depend on several variables like political, social, economic and ideological consideration, power and prestige associated with languages themselves besides intrasocietal factors like intelligence, attitude, socio-economic status etc.,

Broadly, two levels of strategies have been adopted for promotion of multilingual education, namely, (a) the informal and (b) the formal level strategies.

Informal Level Strategies

The informal level strategies may be characterised as teacher initiated strategies. They highlight teacher's sensitivity to student language needs and problems. Inherent in the use of informal level strategies is the distinction between medium of comprehension and use of informal level strategies is the distinction between medium of comprehension and medium of expression. Another feature of the informal level strategies is that they are intended to act as facilitators in the learning process. So they take the learners to the unknown through the known. In this sense, the informal level strategies may be seen as being process-oriented.

A few illustrations of the informal level strategies are as given below:

- a) The use of school language for reading out the lessons and another language/dialect for purposes of explanations, discussions, giving clarifications, etc. This strategy is usually used in the rural schools and government schools in the urban areas. It is also prevalent in some English medium schools. Srivastava and Gupta (1984) call this as support bilingual education. In a variant form of this strategy the students listen to lessons in the classroom in one language (generally the local language) and write answers through another language, which is the medium of instruction of that school. Srivastava and Gupta (1984) refer to this strategy as partial bilingual education.
- b) There are cases where the teacher is not familiar with either the local language or dialect. A simplified register (like Foreigner Talk) is used in the classroom for teaching purpose. Such a situation is

generally prevalent in classrooms in tribal areas.

Formal Level Strategies

The formal level strategies are inbuilt in the educational policies either implicitly or explicitly. They are intended to promote the learning of several languages. Hence they may be seen as product-oriented. The formal level strategies may or may not make use of informal level strategies.

It has been pointed out earlier that in the Indian context, several meanings of multilingual education coexist. Consequently, these meanings are translated into different strategies of multilingual education. Broadly, these strategies are of two types:

- (a) Strategies focussing on language as medium and as subjects of study
- (b) Strategies focussing on media of instruction only.

Language as a Medium and as Subjects of Study

In the educational context, languages have dual roles to play, namely, as medium and as subjects. The strategy of using one language as medium and other languages as second and Urdu/ Sanskrit

Third Language- English / Urdu / Sanskrit

In discussing the problems inherent in the Three- Language Formula the most important one is that it does not provide for teaching through the mother tongue for minority and, tribal language groups because it equates regional languages with mother tongues (Srivastava 1990). Some other problems with regard to its implementation have also been examined (Viswanatham 1999). In certain instances, the spirit behind this formula has been overemphasised to the extent of totally overlooking the notion of mother tongue being the best medium of instruction (Koul, Devaki and Umarani 1999). In the State of Karnataka, for example, following Gokak Committee's recommendation in 1981, Kannada was made the compulsory and sole first language in the first three years of schooling. As a result of this policy within a span of ten years the percentage of English medium school saw a spurt from 0.25% to 1.88%. Most of these schools follow the pattern of syllabus prescribed by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). The

Urdu medium schools also increased from 4.94% to 7.12% and in the Karnataka- Maharashtra border regions the number of Marathi medium schools increased from 1.51% to 2.64%. The number of Kannada medium schools, on the other hand, recorded a decrease from 92.78% to 87.23%.

In the school following the CBSE pattern of syllabus, the 1988 version of the Three-Language Formula has been implemented and students compulsorily study three languages, namely English, Hindi, and Sanskrit with English as the medium of instruction. Some schools have opted for the regional language/mother tongue as an additional language. But the Board examinations are not held for these languages. In this pattern of schooling also, the principle of teaching through mother tongue is ignored. This strategy is best suited for speakers whose home language and the regional language are either the same or alike.

- (b) Multilingual education based on the use of languages (either regional languages/ Hindi/ English) which are not the mother tongue and other languages as subjects

This strategy of multilingual education is based on teaching through second language. In the Indian context this strategy mainly refers to English and Hindi media schools. It also includes regional language medium schools that are attended to by migrants. This is one of most widely spread strategy for promotion of multilingual education. According to the Fifth All India Education Survey (1990), English is medium of instruction in 32 States and Union Territories. Similarly of the total number of schools throughout the country about 41% schools provide Hindi medium of instruction. In these schools, children study other languages as subjects. This strategy has apparently been successful with children belonging to the dominant language groups, higher socio-economic strata and second/third generation learners. Several arguments have been put forth for and against this strategy of multilingual education. But as pointed out earlier, education and languages do not operate in a vacuum. They are influenced by a host of variables. Opting for this strategy highlights arguments that are based on the individual language rights.

- (c) Multilingual education based on the use of indigenous languages as media of education and other Languages as subjects.

This strategy is concerned with protecting the linguistic rights

of minorities. In this strategy, indigenous languages that are not recognised in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution are used in education as media and other languages as subjects. The use of Hmar, Tangkhul and Khasi in Manipur, Khasi and Garo in Meghalays, Santhali, Savara in other states instantiate this strategy. But the use of this strategy for tribal education is dismal because of certain reasons like lack of standardized scripts, apathy of bureaucracy coupled with unwillingness of some tribal groups to accept the use of their language for the purposes of education. On the plus side, however, the incipient awareness regarding the importance of using tribal languages in education has resulted in the development of indigenous scripts as in the case of Santhalis who have developed Ol Chiki. In such cases it is expected that the of tribal language in education will serve to unify the tribal population spread across several states.

Languages as Media of Instruction

The second kind of strategy for promotion of multilingual education focusses on the use of two languages as instructional media. The dual language media are of two varieties, namely, the simultaneous and the successive strategies of multilingual education.

a) Dual Language Media: Simultaneous

In certain schools like the Kendriya Vidhyalaya , the simultaneous strategy of multilingual education is followed. In these schools, right from the primary stage of education students study through two languages, namely, English and Hindi. While English is used for the study of English as a subject and to teach Mathematics and Science, Hindi is used to teach Hindi and Social Studies. In addition, students also learn Sanskrit as a subject. In this strategy, multilingual education refers to knowledge of several languages and this knowledge may not even include mother tongue.

b) Dual Language Media: Successive

The successive multilingual education strategies are of two types, the first aimed at majority language speaking groups, and the other at tribal language groups.

In the majority languages group situation, the first language/

mother tongue is used as the medium of instruction upto the end of primary education with English as a subject. Either at the beginning of secondary or university education, students switch over to another medium of instruction and this is generally the English medium. Since two languages are used as media of instruction successively, this strategy has been labelled as successive strategy of multilingual education. This strategy seems to be an effective one for students because it is rooted in mother tongue education with all its effective one for students because it is rooted in mother tongue education with all its concomitant advantages- be it educational, social, ethical, psychological, or linguistic. It is also beneficial because by the end of education, the students can operate in the regional language as well as in English. The problem with regard to this strategy relates to people's changing perception and its impact on the educational system. The educational scenario of Tamilnadu illustrates this point. According to Saraswathi (1989), in Tamilnadu, following the State Reorganisation Act of 1956, several Tamil medium schools have opted to become English medium schools at the secondary level. An offshoot of this option is that it has resulted in mushrooming of privately managed schools with English medium at the primary stage itself.

The successive strategy of multilingual education is also used for tribal language groups. Most of these groups do not have a script. In such cases the regional language script is modified and adapted for the tribal language and then used for educational purposes. The CIIL has proposed this strategy in its Bilingual Transfer Model. The focus of this strategy is on ensuring smooth transfer to the school language. The smooth transfer is sought to be achieved by using the tribal language as medium in the first year of schooling along with oral instructions in the regional language. The amount of mother tongue instruction in the regional language is gradually increased along with a decrease in mother tongue instruction. Thus by the beginning of fourth standard the student is ready to study through the regional language (Annamalai 1977). The internal operation of model is flexible and has to take into account several factors, such as, the genetic relationship between the tribal and state language, shared cultural traits, exposure to the state language, etc., The syllabus, for the first time has received special attention and incorporates tribal ecology and culture. This model has been subjected to some criticism. Mohanty (1990, 1994) for instance examines the model and states that it leads to assimilation and monolingualism in the regional language.

In discussing this model, a point to be remembered is that the model has originally been proposed as an educational remedy to fight problems of failure, stagnation, wastage and indifference in the education of tribal children. It should not be mistaken for a linguistic strategy aiming at language maintenance. As Pattanayak observes, the goal of this model 'is not to fight a battle of rights, to protect or destroy a speech community but to assist the weak, the handicapped the oppressed to participate in the educational system with self-respect' (1981:75). This statement shows that the bilingual transfer model needs to be modified if it has to contribute to language maintenance also.

As an educational strategy, this model seems to be effective. Researchers, working on the model have reported reduction in dropout rate, better teacher-student interactions, positive attitude towards tribal languages and facilitative conditions promoting learning.

As pointed out earlier, a sound strategy of multilingual education needs to be based on mother tongue medium. Of the strategies discussed above, not all strategies are based on this principle. Yet these strategies seem to be equally successful as evident from examination marks. Customarily, the strategies of multilingual education are evaluated for their effectiveness on the basis of certain narrow criteria like cognitive benefits, interference, language proficiency, attitude, etc.,. Research findings that have been reported are in favour of as well as against these strategies. But these studies limit themselves to an academic discussion on strategies of multilingual education leaving untouched certain fundamental issues of development.

First, in the Indian context, multilingualism is a resource that has not only to be maintained but also to be developed. One of the indices of national development is the development of linguistic resources. In evaluating any strategy on multilingual education the question that needs to be asked is to what extent do the strategies promote language growth? Languages have to be used if they have to grow. Most of the existing strategies on multilingual education do not contribute to the development of Indian Languages.

Linguistically, they merely promote static maintenance. A strategy of multilingual education has to ensure promotion of dynamic maintenance of Indian Languages.

A more fundamental question on the effectiveness of various strategies of multilingual education should address itself to the nature of multilingualism and national development. As pointed out in the introductory section, each strategy of multilingual education leads to specific patterns of multilingualism, with each pattern having certain

implications for national development. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies of multilingual education, one has to think about the nature of multilingualism itself. The current educational context is being confronted with three patterns of multilingual situations, the use of indigenous languages, the use of several languages and the non-use of mother tongue irrespective of whether it is an indigenous language or a scheduled language. Under such circumstances, multilingualism itself needs to be defined in qualitative terms rather than being merely quantitative. Multilingualism is a matter of creating space for people rightfully to be different (Webb 1998). It also needs to recognise people's option to not to use their mother tongues in education. The issue of language choice has largely to be choice by the people and community. Under these circumstances prescriptive strategies do not work.

In discussing multilingual education in the framework of national development, it is time to get away from our preoccupation with arguments for and against English medium education. One reason for this is that people's perception about English has changed. In the words of Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998) the study of English language has got detached from British rule. This detachment has brought about a change in the status and identity of English. It is no longer seen as a foreign medium. Instead English with all its advantages and minus its cultural components, is being accommodated with Indian languages and is perceived as participating in the process of national development. This change in perception has brought about a shift in the debate concerning the nature of multilingual education. This shift is from issues of decolonisation of mind and identity to matters such as people's participation in democracy and empowerment deciding about the type of development (Chimhundu 1997)

In the light of this discussion, one can only suggest some guidelines for formulating strategy/ strategies for promotion of multilingual education. The following recommendations are proposed:

- a) A two-pronged approach seems to be quite essential. Both of these have to be implemented simultaneously. The first involves a change in curriculum and the second relates to raising consciousness about mother tongue education.
- b) Merely changing the language of instruction from English to mother tongue or Indian languages represents a cosmetic change. Policy makers have to go beyond the issue of language and multilingual education to other educational issues.

- c) Strategies for promotion of multilingual education have to take into account the diversity in cultural and social contexts. To do this curriculum and syllabus need to be made relevant, diversified and Indianized. In other words, education should be made appropriate to the context in which learning takes place. The goal of such a type of education may be termed as 'Appropriate Education' (Devaki 1999).
- d) Since language, culture and thought are closely related, education, through the use of different languages, has to foster context related modes of thinking.
- e) It is necessary to raise the level of consciousness about the need and importance of multilingual education through mother tongue. Children coming from the lower strata are attending mother tongue medium schools out of necessity. On the other hand, children from the other socio- economic strata are getting English based multilingual education. This elite group of children form the target group whose consciousness needs to be raised. To achieve this, we need to market mother tongue based multilingual education by explicitly giving it a positive value orientation, enhancing its economic potentials, unsurfacing its role as tool of empowerment, and making it a vibrant viable alternative. In other words every individual must feel impelled to opt for mother tongue bases multilingual education because it is OUR language having a say in OUR development.
- f) For mother tongue education based multilingual education to be more widespread, the country needs to become more decentralised at the politico-economic and administrative levels.
- g) The roles of other languages, like Hindi, English, Regional languages either as an additional media or as subjects of study may be decided at the local level depending on national and local needs.

To sum up, strategies for promoting mother tongue based multilingual education have to go beyond the issue of language and touch upon factors of education and the society itself.

Language and The Non-Formal Education

Introduction

Education can be defined as a process by which people acquire knowledge, skills, and values essential for becoming good citizens of a country. It can help the people to appreciate their cultural heritage and live in unity in a society. Education involves both learning and teaching. Teachers and schools have the chief responsibility for education. The kind of organised instruction they provide is called formal education. Learning that results from less organized instruction are classified under non-formal education.

Non-formal education like any other organised systematic educational activity, provides selective type of learning to particular groups of learners (both adults as well as children) outside the framework of the formal school system. It is a flexible and organised learning activity which takes place at the learners place, pace and time. It is also need-oriented and interest based. It provides a second chance to dropouts and enables the under-privileged sections of society to acquire relevant knowledge and skills.

Non-formal education is essentially functional education. It is mainly intended for the development of the deprived sections of society. It caters to their minimum need. Farmers, for instance, can get training to produce high yields. This system of education is characterised by considerable flexibility. The duration and timing of courses are oriented to the needs of the learners.

Non-formal education derives support from the involvement of the community in its various activities such as planning of programmes, curriculum design, and evaluation. Even the instructors are selected from the local community itself.

Objectives

The objectives of non-formal education as outlined in the UNESCO document (1978) are as follows:

- a. to promote awareness, both individual and national, through pre-literacy education;
- b. to make communities self reliant and involving them in the planning, organising and implementing of programmes;

- c. to effect transfer of appropriate technology; and
- d. to make social and community education programmes meet the demands of the rapidly growing industrialised societies.

The development of human resources is a major objective of non-formal education. It aims at the development of a positive attitude towards life as well as a scientific temper. The pupils are sensitized to ethical, social and cultural values and endowed with knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for the development of a nation.

In India, non-formal education has two special objectives:

- (a) Achievement of functional literacy, and
- (b) Effective implementation of rural development programmes.

Adult Education generally refers to education that is provided to persons above the age group of 15 who are not in regular schools. This education is a substitute for the basic education the adults have missed. It also complements professional education. There have been serious efforts in this regard.

The Government of India launched the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) in mid seventies to wipe out illiteracy in the age group of 15-35. Various government and voluntary organisations are involved in fulfilling the objective. The University Grants Commission has decided to actively involve universities and colleges all over the country in Adult Education Programmes with special emphasis on women, scheduled caste/scheduled tribes, people from rural and backward areas and also the physically handicapped.

The Adult Education programme is being implemented in three phases. The Phase I provide for basic literacy, general education with emphasis on health and family planning, functional programmes relating to the learner's vocations and familiarity with laws and policies affecting the learners. The Phase II reinforces literacy and its use in daily life. It includes application of science in relation to one's environment and components of geography and history. It is also concerned with improvement of vocational skills. The Phase III achieves reasonable degree of self-reliance.

Non-Formal Education Schemes

Non-Formal educational institutions cater to various needs of the people. They differ radically in different countries. In many developing countries several types of instructional programmes are used to cater to different needs:

- (i) Multi-purpose institutions offer pre-employment programmes with functional literacy courses.
- (ii) Full-time vocational training programmes provide basic skills in literacy, which help the trainees in self-employment schemes.
- (iii) Correspondence courses are offered in technical subjects.
- (iv) Technical training is provided by different professional organisations on voluntary basis.

Most developed as well as developing countries have taken to non-formal education in a big way. In the U.K., for instance, the Workers Education Association is the most important body closely identified with adult education. Voluntary organisations contribute a lot in this area. Adult Education in China is called Social Education. It is intended to provide education to illiterate or semi-literate adults in the age group of 19 to 45 years. Many private and voluntary agencies organise lectures, establish libraries and provide education and medical service to pupils.

Medium of Instruction

One of the major challenges faced is the choice of the medium of instruction to be used in non-formal education. In a multilingual context in general, and in the Indian situation particular, the problem of diglossia is paramount. Several Indian languages have developed a dichotomy between the written and the spoken word. In Tamil, for instance, the spoken word is not written in the Tamil script. In such a situation, whether the material should be created to read and write in the spoken language or in the written is a dilemma, which has to be resolved with care.

As a general belief, literacy must be imparted in the mother tongue. But minority language speakers find themselves at a disadvantage in this regard as their languages are of limited functional value. This problem can become acute. Consider for instance, the plight of the tribals in the Koraput district of Orissa. The tribal Kuvi speakers have to use Desia as a link language for communicating with other tribals in this region. They also have to learn Oriya as the state official language for wider communication within the state.

Issues related to the language to be used for literacy and the medium of instruction are to be sorted out. As far as possible, the choice of language or languages must be related with the socio-cultural environment in which the learners live. Imparting of literacy in a non-native language will involve the preparation of instructional materials, which introduce the structure of the target language and vocabulary adequate to fulfil the learner's needs

and aspirations.

Methods and Techniques

An important goal of non-formal education is to develop a sense of language readiness in the learners. This involves mastery over various aspects of language. They include:

1. Developing awareness of words
2. Enriching vocabulary
3. Achieving fluency in reading
4. Acquiring the skills of interpretative listening.
5. Achieving mastery of sentence structure

Effective language teaching/learning methods and techniques have a major role in language learning in non-formal education. It is important to provide an appropriate environment for the learning of language, which would help adults to learn. The responsibility of learning should be placed in the hands of the learners themselves. There should be a set of language techniques, which would enable the learners to assess their own needs, to formulate goals, to implement and evaluate programmes. These techniques could build an interactive system in which the learner is not a passive recipient but can respond.

Various methods are used in language teaching: Direct method, Grammar-Translation method, Audio-lingual method etc. However, for language teaching in the non-formal system, teachers employ the situational language teaching method. The objectives of this method are to provide training in the four basic skills of language- listening, speaking, reading and writing- in different situations. Accuracy in both pronunciation and grammar is regarded crucial. This method employs a situational approach to presenting new sentence patterns with adequate drills for practice. Teachers resorting to situational language teaching give importance to oral practice, testing and to language activities other than those arising from the textbook.

As the hallmark of non-formal education is flexibility, the language teacher can capitalise on the latest developments in language teaching. The teacher can use the most suitable ones or adapt them keeping in view the needs of the learners. We will examine some of the latest methods in language teaching and suggest how teachers could handle them in the non-formal system. Two language teaching methods namely audio-lingual, and communicative language teaching are relevant in the non-formal education.

1. Audio-lingual Method

Many of the tasks and drills involved in this method can be effectively used to teach grammatical structures. Important drills include repetition, re-placement, restatement, completion, expansion, contraction, transformation, integration and restoration. They are designed to produce correct responses. A non-formal instructor is at liberty to modify them in accordance with the pace and needs of the learners.

2. *Communicative Language Teaching*

Similarly, the Communicative Language Teaching method perfectly fits in with the spirit of non-formal education. The two relevant characteristics of the communicative view of language are: (a) Language is a system for the expression of meaning, and (b) the primary function of language is for interaction and communication. The learners are involved in the process of information sharing, negotiation of meaning, and interaction. At the conclusion of group activities, the teachers lead in the debriefing of the activity, pointing out alternatives and assisting groups in self-correction and discussion.

The humanistic approach governing this method is of great relevance in non-formal education. It involves techniques that engage the whole person, including the emotions and feelings as well as linguistic knowledge and skills. Some of the learning tasks include group work, reflection and observation, listening and free conversation.

An instructor has to foster learning as well as promote interaction and learner's involvement. Lecture-cum-discussions and demonstrations prove effective and suitable. The group discussions and practical work in workshops prove very effective in imparting adult education. The workshop method enables learners to gain expertise, linguistic competence as well as self-esteem. The education centres need to be equipped with materials and tools pertaining to vocational training and practice in new methods in their professions. The activities are to be organised in small groups for various tasks. Each group is entrusted with the performance of a particular task. The instructor can give a full demonstration at the commencement of the workshop.

Workshops for group tasks, and talks for explaining the new things have to be conducted in as interesting manner as possible. The talks should be presented in simple, clear and logical manner. They may be followed by group discussions in which all the learners should be encouraged to participate.

Instructional Materials

Language teaching in non-formal education is dependent upon textbooks and audio-visual aids. The instructional materials should be learners oriented. They should have the primary role of promoting language readiness. The graphic-aids include charts, diagrams, pictures and photographs. Three-dimensional aids such as models and puppets could be used. If possible projected aids such as slides, filmstrips and videotapes may be utilized. All these materials should be used to create authentic situations, which promote learning, functional communication and social interaction.

Role of Media

Educational technology can be judiciously applied for effective language teaching in the non-formal system. Radio and television can be utilized for effectiveness. Broadcasts of various kinds such as farm broadcasts, health and tribal broadcasts have fostered a high degree of awareness in the rural and backward areas. Another innovative and interesting development is the setting up of group meetings related to various programmes with an objective of encouraging organized group listening followed by group discussions under a discussion leader. The format can be creatively adapted to the socio-cultural milieu of the learners.

Satellite television has served as a powerful means of imparting linguistic and technical skills in the informal system. The SITE (Satellite Instruction Television Experiment) launched in 1976 is considered as one of the largest techno-teaching experiment conducted in human history. Some of the developmental goals of SITE were to improve general primary school education, to provide teachers training, to improve agricultural practice, to contribute to family planning and to foster national integration. The recreational programmes incorporated musicals, dramas and songs, which contained some social message. The television can be adopted to new uses and to deliver new messages.

Role of a Teacher

The primary role of the teacher is to create situations in which the learner is presented linguistic material in a way to encourage positive reception and retention by the learners. He is required to generate a constant flow of language input while providing a host of non-linguistic clues to help students in interpreting the input.

Although the non-formal system of education is learner-oriented, the

role of the teacher is of paramount importance.

He is responsible for collecting materials and designing their use. It is he who creates a congenial class room atmosphere. He also monitors and evaluates the activities of the learners. The teachers should also be finely attuned to the socio-cultural milieu of the learners.

It is unfortunate that in India the non-formal teacher remains a pathetic and neglected figure in the educational system. He is paid very low wages and is not provided opportunities to acquire advanced teaching skills. Voluntary agencies and committed individuals can lend him a helping hand.

Conclusion

The link between language and non-formal education is extremely complex. There are different problems and dilemmas in designing and implementing the programmes. It is true that a committed non-formal educator can benefit from the infinite possibilities offered both by insights in language, language education and non-formal education. His concern for his target group can enable him to arrive at the most effective approach of teaching. The entire community has to join hands in realizing the full potential of non-formal education.

Language and Politics in India

Introduction

Language as an effective means of communication is indispensable for intense socio-cultural and political activities. Being a social product, it is closely linked with the identity of its speakers, and reflects their emotions and feelings. Language and politics are related. Language is used as a tool for political movements. A number of demands are raised on issues of language all over the world, having serious bearings on socio-cultural and human rights. Here, an attempt is made to explore the relationship between language and politics, indicate problems and issues arising out of this, and offer suggestions with special reference to the situation in India.

Language, Society and Politics

Language has a close relationship with society and culture. It is primarily through language that human society is organised and engaged in productive activities. Language is also the repository of human thought, knowledge and action. It reflects the value system of its users and binds people at different levels as a part of family, society, nation etc.

The history of language is the history of human culture and civilisation. Its growth and development is linked with the socio-political movements of the country. The diversity of Indian languages can be traced to ancient *Janapadas*, Ashokan inscriptions, *Naatyashastra*, etc, which amply document this diversity. Proliferation of ethnic groups has led to proliferation in languages; their struggle and contact has led to new languages and media of communication. The names of ancient languages are based on region, political rule, ethnic groups and geographical phenomenon. It indicates that growth of regional languages is a function of physical environment, demography, religion and political forces.

Religion is perhaps an important factor that influenced the growth of languages in ancient and medieval India. The pan-Indian religion like Brahminical religion developed a common language for wider communication. Local sects like Vaishnavism and *Nathpanthis* helped in developing local languages. Every religion initially relied on local languages but, in pursuit of expansion, evolved a common language. The examples were Sanskrit and Pali. Buddhists and Jains used local languages.

The Bhakti movement gave an impetus to local languages and literatures.

India was ruled by different dynasties at different times. But for brief interludes of pan-Indian administration of Mauryas, Guptas, Khiljis and Mughals, most of the time the people of India were governed by the regional rulers. The centralised rule itself was through provincial administration with substantial autonomy. The regional rulers encouraged their regional languages. Some rulers used the languages developed as literary languages by religious leaders in the court. The development of Tamil under Cholas in the 11th A.D., Telugu under Chalukyas and Kannada under the Rastrakuta and Vijaynagar rulers is well documented. The Ahoms who ruled Assam were primarily responsible for the growth of Assamese literature.

In certain cases the activities in local regional languages did not ensure their use in administration. In ancient and medieval times the language of court remained elitist. Hence the Vijaynagar Empire encouraged regional language and literature on one hand, but proclaimed education in only Sanskrit. Very few rulers used the local languages as court languages. In medieval India, Persian was the court language but Hindi-Urdu developed as a spoken language in northern India. Hence language, and the access to it, was considered as very important tools in retaining power in the elitist hands.

Languages and Nation Building

The issue of language is very important as far as the concept of nation and strengthening of it is concerned in a multilingual society. Nation and language have separate origins. Nation has emerged as a new form of social group in the seventeenth-eighteen century due to industrialisation, rapid growth of communication facilities, and the necessity of bigger but interdependent markets of products and consumers. In short, nation has emerged as a result of intense social communication whereas language is as old as civilisation. Language intensifies mutual co-operation and exchange of thoughts and ideas, thereby bringing people together. It is clear that Nation as a concept may have come later but language and nation are in constant interplay and reinforce each other.

Though language is a very important factor, it is not the sole factor in nation building. Besides language, variables like territory, common culture, and common economic life are also important. It is the overall impact of all these factors which is important and not the presence or absence of any one of them. The Swiss people speak different languages and still act as one people, because of their learned habits, commonality of history, social stratification, symbols and memories. However, a nation requires intense

communication and interaction; and language is an important tool to facilitate this.

India might not have existed as a compact nation in the modern sense of the term during the ancient and medieval times, but there has always remained a cultural communication, though it was fragmented politically. The Muslim rule had an adverse impact on Sanskrit, a prominent language used by the Hindu rulers. Muslim rulers used Persian in administration and courts. The use of Persian spread gradually to large parts of the country. The employment opportunities under Muslim rulers made Hindus adopt Persian. Emperors like Akbar removed restrictions on Hindus to enter Madrasas. By 1837 when William Adam conducted his survey, Hindus out-numbered Muslims as Persian scholars. This emphasizes the fact that Persian was still not the language of the masses but it remained a language of rulers and courtiers. Urdu remained the language of interaction at the market place. Urdu departed from Hindi by using the Persian script and heavily drew on its vocabulary. The mixed Hindi-Urdu, best known as Hindustani emerged for wider communication and was capable of linking people of different linguistic communities.

A common official language, a uniform administrative system and a common language of people for communication under the Mughal Empire led to the building up of nationalism in the 19th century.

Under the Company rule, the English were not inclined to disturb the administrative and court systems. Warren Hastings preferred Persian as the language of courts and administration and he opened Sanskrit Colleges in Calcutta and Madras. Lord Cornwallis, having disdain for local systems, encouraged English system. With the increasing depth of English system and administration in presidency towns and directly ruled regions of the country, the foremost among them being Bengal, found English much more effective both for employment and social upgradation. The elites took it as a means to interact with government and hence share the power. Bengali elitist Raja Ram Mohan Roy led the demand for the spread of English. He supported English education for wider knowledge, reform in religion and for improving employment opportunities. Macaulay's Minute became historical.

The Macaulay Minute could never make English the language of the masses. Higher education and professional education was confined to the English speaking elite. English became the language of communication and interaction of the educated classes on an all-India basis. As English could not become the language of the masses, alternatives were thought of. Keshab Chandra Sen recognized simple spoken Hindi to be a language capable of becoming an official language.

In pre-independence India, Mahatma Gandhi saw in Hindustani a great instrument for raising the political consciousness of the masses. He therefore came to the deliberate conclusion that 'no language except Hindustani can possibly become a national medium for exchange of ideas or for the conduct of national proceedings'. The National Congress in its Kanpur session held in 1925 resolved for the first time that the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee and its Working Committee should be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani. The All Parties Conference held in 1928 corroborated this. The resolution said 'The language of the commonwealth of India should be Hindustani written in Devanagari or Urdu script'. The Nehru Committee also recommended Hindustani.

The prospect of Hindustani becoming the national language was hindered by the Hindi-Urdu controversy, which started with the British Govt. Resolution in 1837 to replace Persian with Indian language. The governments of North West provinces, Bihar and Central provinces opted for Urdu in Persian script as the official language disregarding the overwhelming use of Hindi. This created a backlash among supporters of Hindi in these provinces. The widening gap continued between the two languages and the issue remained unresolved. A significant happening, which occurred after independence, was that the political forces, which had been supporting reorganisation of the country on a linguistic basis, now faced a dilemma since they perceived in this a threat to the building of the nation.

At the time of independence, there were 564 different political entities of undivided India. A majority of them acceded to free India. The Indian National Congress (INC) had shown its inclination to linguistic homogeneity on the basis for reorganization of states during pre-independence time. Formation of sub-national level committees on linguistic basis by INC was one such step. The Constitution of India divided the states into four categories: A, B, C and D. however, this arrangement was always looked upon as temporary. The supporters for linguistic division of the country were large in number. Language was one of the main elements of identity within the country. Many aspects of culture revolved around language. Language, being the most important means of communication between persons, had great binding capacity. Moreover, INC leaders had shown adherence to the linguistic basis for division at different times. Owing to the above-mentioned factors, the popular sentiment in favour of reorganisation was high.

Considering these factors, the Government of India appointed a Linguistic Provinces Commission. The Commission went into all aspects of reorganisation of states and submitted its report in 1948. The report

said that the formation of new provinces should be postponed for the time being. It further stated that whenever the question of new provinces was to be taken up, the emphasis should be primarily on administrative convenience; and language should be considered only as a matter of administrative convenience and not as an independent force. Given the popular sentiment, the report was rejected by a large section of people. Soon another Committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and P.Sitaramayya was formed. This Committee also did not favour the linguistic basis for reorganisation. However, this Committee said that this basis could be examined if the public sentiment was insistent. This marked a shift in Congress policy from pre-independence. The leaders explained this shift on the basis of implications arising from the practical application, especially in the wake of partition.

The agitation for an Andhra state became intense. It culminated in the death of Potti Sriramulu after 56 days of fasting in 1952. The Telugu speaking areas of Madras turned violent. Ultimately, the Govt. of India acceded the demand of a separate Andhra state in 1953. This triggered off a series of agitations for linguistic states, especially in Karnataka and Kerala. The Government appointed the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955 to examine objectively the question of reorganization. The Commission submitted its report in 1955. It recommended abolition of the existing A, B, C and D categories and formation of two categories of States and Union Territories. This report was accepted by the Parliament and the States Reorganisation Act was passed after some modifications in 1956. The act created 14 States and 6 Union Territories.

The Central Govt. had a misapprehension about the linguistic states. Various proposals came for review. The Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar suggested the scheme of bilingual states. Under this scheme Bihar and West Bengal were to come together as one state with two Regional Councils. The proposal for Andhra-Karnataka state also came up. However, such schemes were not received well by the inhabitants of these regions. The respective governments were forced to give up this idea and the concept of unilingual state was once again emphasised. However, reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis did not put an end to the linguistic tensions. The question of a national/official language was yet to be addressed fully.

Language Policy and Politics

Language policy and politics are closely interlinked. The choice of the official language of the Union was a difficult task before the members of the Constituent Assembly. As B.R.Ambedkar said, 'There was nothing which proved more controversial than Art. 115, which deals with the

(Hindi) question. No Article produced more opposition. No Article more heat'. Although the ground for Hindi was already prepared, its adoption as an official language was not without serious opposition. The non-Hindi speaking people had an apprehension that they might be dominated by the Hindi speaking people or be relegated to being second-class citizens or be placed in an unequal competition in respect of civil services. There were three divergent opinions:

- a) A group of people thought that Hindi should and would be introduced not only as the official language of the Union, but even in the High Courts straightaway;
- b) Another group wanted to retain English as it was before 1947, leaving Hindi to be studied as a second language, promoted in easy stages into an official language; and
- c) The third group thought that Hindi as the official language of the Union should replace English progressively as and when Hindi was ready to perform in some measure the functions performed by English.

To come to some kind of a solutions, which would satisfy all these divergent opinions the Munshi Ayyanger Formula was evolved. This became the basis of the language provisions incorporated in the Constitution. These provisions are placed under the following topics:

- a) Official Language of the Union (Art 343)
- b) Official Language of the States (Art 345)
- c) Language for inter-state communication (Art 346)
- d) Language of Supreme Court (Art 348)
- e) Formation of the Language Commission (Art 344)
- f) Language to be used in Union Parliament and State Legislature
- g) Safeguards for linguistic minorities (Art 349)
- h) Miscellaneous provisions for the promotion, development and use of Hindi language (Art 350)
- i) Specification of some important languages as national languages. (VIII Schedule).

The Constitution has thus envisaged a comprehensive programme related to the Official language Policy. It strikes a balance between the regional aspirations for the use of their respective languages in their own states, and the national need for official language(s) at the Union level. The constitutional provisions, particularly the provision for the official language

of the Union, have raised serious controversies.

a. Official Language Commission (1955) and its Aftermath

The recommendations of the Official Language Commission of 1955 for the replacement of English by Hindi at the Union level within the period specified in the Constitution evoked a strong resentment among the non-Hindi speakers, who wanted English to be continued along with Hindi for an unspecified period of time.

Voices of protest were raised at various conventions and conferences. Inaugurating the Language Convention held in Madras on 22nd December 1957, Mirza Ismail said 'a decision now to make Hindi the official language and even fix a date for this is far too daring a challenge to the time spirit.' The Madras Govt, in its communication to the Union Govt. on the 3rd January 1958, warned against the discontinuation of English as an Official language. Earlier, on 1st January 1958, the Chief Ministers of the southern states, in a joint statement at Mahabalipuram, argued that the discontinuance of the use of English as the official language of the Union by 1965 was neither feasible nor desirable. Two eminent members of the Language Commission also held a similar opinion.

All this had a sobering influence on the Committee of the Parliament on Official Language. The Committee suggested that Hindi should replace English by stages and no deadline should therefore be fixed; and the entire approach should be flexible and practical. These modifications suggested by the Parliamentary Committee did not allay the fears of the non-Hindi speaking states that Hindi would not be imposed on them. To ease the tension, Prime Minister Nehru came out with a categorical assurance on the floor of Parliament that there must be no imposition; and the decision on the use of Hindi as the Union official Language would be left, not to the Hindi knowing people, but to the non-Hindi speaking people.

b. Official Language Act, 1963

The Official Language Act, 1963 provided that English would continue in addition to Hindi for all official purposes of the Union and for the transaction of the business of the parliament indefinitely - even after January 26, 1965. This was a concession in the sense that it provided for a departure from the earlier policy.

The use of Hindi as the sole official language was thus kept in abeyance for the time being. Meanwhile most of the states adopted their respective regional language(s) for their state administration and education. This in turn, provided a fillip to the development of regional languages and

literatures. This disturbed the central authority and a conference on National Integration was therefore convened on 10 August 1963, to review the situation. The conference felt that in view of the growth of the regional languages, it was imperative to develop an alternative Indian language for inter-state communication; and for this Hindi needed to be promoted. Armed with this, the Union Home Ministry conveyed to the UPSC the suggestion that Hindi should be introduced as an alternative medium for the examinations to be held in 1964 and afterwards. In a note it also conveyed to the Central government offices the steps that would be taken from 26 January 1965 for the introduction of Hindi step by step.

The apprehension of an attempt of the Union to introduce Hindi through the back door caused resentment among the non-Hindi speaking people. Strong protests were held all over Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Mysore (now Karnataka), West Bengal and other non-Hindi speaking states. The anti-Hindi feeling was so deep that a number of persons immolated themselves in Madras, Coimbatore and Trichy. Both the Union ministers from Tamil Nadu resigned from the Union ministry in protest. In the face of this mounting protest, the Ministry withdrew its notification and the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, in a nation-wide broadcast declared that the Union government would fully and solemnly stand by the assurance given earlier by Nehru to the non-Hindi states on the question of languages.

A fresh Official Language Bill to this effect was proposed in the Parliament. The proposal gave statutory powers to the non-Hindi states to decide as to when English would be replaced by Hindi at the Union level. This displeased the Hindi speaking states. Protest meetings and demonstrations were organised throughout Hindi speaking areas to thwart the Bill. The anti-English agitation turned violent in Delhi, Lucknow, Agra, Allahabad and Indore. Processions were taken out and English signboards were pulled down and set ablaze. Copies of the Bill were also burnt.

The sentiments against the Bill were so deep and widespread that even some eminent men of letters threatened to renounce the National awards like Padma Vibhushan, Padma Bhushan etc, conferred on them, as a matter of protest. This movement in the North contributed to the growing suspicion and apprehension of Hindi domination in the South. The South opposed the Bill on the ground that the bill had given Hindi an equal status with English. The protest movement in South soon erupted into violence.

In the midst of these demands and counter-demands, protests and counter-protests the Official Language (Amendment) Bill was passed by

the Parliament. According to this, English in addition to Hindi would continue to be used for the transactions of the Parliament and all official transactions of the Union. The resolution, which was passed along with the Language Bill to give effect to the Language Policy of the Govt. of India, assured the non-Hindi states that 'all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and English shall be permitted as alternative media for the All-India and Higher Civil Services examinations.' It was also proposed that compulsory knowledge of Hindi should not be required at the stage of selection of candidates for the recruitment to the Union services.

This Act was thus an attempt to satisfy both the Hindi and non-Hindi groups; and for the next nine years there was no resistance to the language policy. But the simmering discontent continued, and this came to the surface again when the Janata Party came to power at the Union level in 1977. The constituents of the Janata Party and its leaders were known to be strong supporters of Hindi. The non-Hindi speakers had a deep suspicion about them, which was further deepened when the Janata Govt. stepped up the implementation of the Official Language Policy, particularly with respect to Hindi. This led to opposition from the non-Hindi speaking states. But this protest did not result in any significant change in the language policy. The question of Hindi being promoted as the official language still remains a potentially sensitive issue. Political forces to mobilise people use such a contentious issue. Since popular opinion is in favour of this, politics continues and will continue to play an important role.

Thus, politics has played a significant role both in the reorganisation of the states on a linguistic basis, as well as in framing of the Official Language Policy. It has succeeded mainly because it genuinely expressed the popular sentiments. However, politics can also use language for divisive purposes. Language movements are not always concerned with the language question. The root cause of the movement often lies elsewhere. Even in the anti-Hindi agitation, it was not only the question of the identity associated with the language but also the fear of the people those opportunities of economic advancement would be denied to them. The question arises as to what exactly can be defined as a language movement and what are the various types of language movements.

Politics and Language Movements

Politics plays a crucial role in language movements. Social movements may use different cultural symbols in different degrees of intensity to rally masses around a social cause. When language is the primary symbol of focus, they become language movements. Different language movements

have taken place in India and they can be classified on the basis of (1) Concern with the status, and (2) Concern with the corpus of the language.

(1) Concern with the Status

The concern with the status consists of the following:

- a) To maintain language: Maintenance is generally of the mother tongue and is for self-preservation and ethnic identity.
- b) To achieve separate identity: The question of separate identity arises out of the boundary problem of distinguishing dialects from language. A speech community may choose to be distinct for reasons of preservation and political benefit. For this, speech is taken to be a distinguishing symbol, e.g. controversy between Hindi and Urdu, Marathi and Konkani, Hindi and Maithili, Punjabi and Dogri etc. The establishment of separate identity is a prerequisite for statutory and national recognition, e.g. demands in India on behalf of languages like Maithili, Dogri, Pahari for award of prizes for best literature and for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule are for recognition and privileges and to merit specific attention for development.
- c) To recognise for certain statutory privileges, and acceptance for use in the administrative, legislative, legal, educational and mass communication domains at the national or regional levels and for government assistance for development. Extension of use of languages into the public domains is facilitated when there is territorial unification and political consolidations based on the language in question which has given political control to the speakers of the language. Demands for linguistic states and new districts are examples of this.

(2) Concern with the Corpus of the Language

Corpus-oriented movements are concerned with the choice and reform of script and spelling; and choice of source for lexical development. In India, corpus movements are related to status movements and are secondary to the latter. In genesis of language movements, relative deprivation plays a crucial role, not only in its social sense but also in a linguistic sense from the point of view of functional distribution of languages. The concerns of Language Movements are also the concerns of language planning and they affect language planning in two ways.

- a) It may influence language policy by forcing planners to take cognisance of the causes and consequences of movements in such a way as to make a policy that is implementable.

- b) It may influence the modification of a language policy already made when its implementation meets with resistance through movements.

We have seen how the anti-Hindi and anti-English movements have influenced our language policy. Language Politics is intimately connected with economic and resource planning. Unless resources are also developed so that sub-groups within a region or culture or groups within a culturally diverse nation get equal opportunity for their creative fulfilment, language is bound to be used for divisive purposes. The Tamil movement is a significant language movement, which has influenced the language policy to a large extent. Reasons behind its origin need a closer examination.

1. The Tamil Movement

Sanskrit was the first language to come into contact with Tamil and it became also as a language of religion, philosophy and logic. The knowledge of Sanskrit was linked with higher status in society. There has been a strong movement in favour of Tamil. Maraimali Adigal (1876-1950) a Professor of Tamil, institutionalised Pure Tamil movement. It was primarily the resentment against influx of Sanskrit words. The movement started in the first half of the 20th century as a manifestation of non-Brahmin or the Dravidian movement, which was basically to change the power relation between the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Brahmins were numerically small but were dominant in Education, Administration and also in the independence movement. The high caste non-Brahmins were numerically large and were powerful in agriculture and small industries.

As the Independence movement gained momentum, Tamils realised that in a new political set-up with participatory government, they would be in a minority. The Independence movement had emphasised the oneness of the entire population of the country and they felt the need to assert their distinctiveness for self-preservation as a group.

With the dawn of independence the anti-Sanskrit movement became anti-Hindi essentially due to two reasons: (1) Hindi was seen as a symbol of Aryan domination, and (2) Introduction of Hindi as the Official language would close all opportunities for employment in the Central Government.

On the political scene, the movement received political support and propagation from DK, DMK, which were actually in essence the successive parties from the Justice Party of the non-Brahmin movement. By this time the movement for purism in Tamil was overshadowed by fight for retention of Tamil and against forcible imposition of Hindi.

Thus the anti-Sanskrit sentiment was changed into the anti-Hindi sentiment after independence. This also brings out the fact that often the

reason behind a language movement is not the issue of the language preservation, but a perceived sense of economic and social deprivation.

2. Pro-Hindi Movement

In direct contrast to the anti-Hindi stance of the South, English finds its strongest opponents mainly within the Hindi belt. The reasons for this contrast are interesting. We may recall that the regions that eventually became Hindi states were far less penetrated by the colonial education system. Colleges modelled on English universities were started in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in 1857, whereas the University of Allahabad opened in 1888. By that year, more than sixty thousand candidates had sat for English Medium University entrance exams in Madras alone. The Hindi speaking states ended the colonial period not only with fewer English educational institutions, but also with much lower overall literacy and more restricted primary school enrolment, than non-Hindi regions. It is easy to see why non-Hindi belt regions have historically felt a greater stake in, and experienced greater rewards from the English educational system.

The other important reason is that English was perceived as a weapon of colonial subjugation during the independence movement. The political leaders always encouraged the use of Hindi since it was projected as a symbol of our national identity. Preference of Hindi over English was a demonstration of their belief that Hindi is a binding force.

In the present situation, however, this pro-Hindi sentiment has got diluted somewhat. English has emerged as a language spoken by a large number of people. It no longer arouses the same antipathy, which it had during the pre-independence and the early post-independence period.

Besides these two major language movements, there have been a number of movements for status at subordinate and sub-regional level.

3. Other Language Movements

The movement for language status at the sub-nation level develops in a plural society when the linguistic communities residing in distinct areas become conscious of their language and separate identity. The movement for the status of Assamese is a good example. When the British Empire annexed Assam in 1826, it was made a part of Bengal presidency and Bengali was introduced in its administration and education, on the presumption that Assamese is a dialect of Bengali. But the Assamese were not ready to accept this. They launched a vigorous movement for the official status of Assamese.

The movement for language status by smaller groups at district or sub-divisional level is a common feature, when the states are not homogenous. Some minority groups are clustered in some particular district or sub-division and they demand that their languages be used in those administrative areas where they are in majority. For example, recognition and use of Nepali in the Darjeeling District of West Bengal

The status of a language is perceived as being dependent to some extent on its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule.

Challenges Ahead

Movements for Separate Linguistic Administrative Units

The movement for linguistic states has not come to a halt even after 1972, when a few more states were formed or elevated to the status of states from Union Territories. Three states namely Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh were formed recently. Uttaranchal was covered out of the Uttar Pradesh, Chattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh and Jarkhand from Bihar. There are movements for the formation of new states and Union Territories.

In some parts of the country, the movements for separate administrative unit either in the form of a separate state or of a Union Territory, is still brewing. The movement of the Maithili speaking people of North of political movements which was primarily for the economic development and the preservation of linguistic and cultural identities; the movement of the Bodos of the Brahmaputra of North Cachar and Karbi Anglong of Assam for a separate Union Territory, the movement of the Bengalis in Kachar district of Assam for a separate Union Territory, etc.

The success of these movements, however, depends on a number of factors. The important ones of these are the proportional strength of the community in the area, their internal cohesion, the rate of internal mobilisation vis-à-vis the pace of assimilation by the dominant group, their capacity to transform the objective distinctiveness to subjective identity, etc. The vital point is their concentration in a particular area where they constitute an overwhelming majority.

Division of the country on the basis of separate languages and ethnicities has led to a chain-reaction from the speakers of so-called dialects too. This can snowball into a situation where smaller and non-viable states are forward. As emphasised the reason is relative deprivation, and it is this, which has to be eradicated. The root cause is lack of access to socio-economic opportunities and this cannot be achieved merely by having a separate linguistic state. The efforts are to be made to maintain the linguistic and cultural diversities with the state.

English and Regional Languages

English continues to enjoy major roles and prestige in a complex cultural and linguistic environment in India. English succeeds Sanskrit and Persian in the series of languages of prestige articulating learning, power and privilege at different points in sub-continental history. The authority represented by English today has in many ways superseded the prestige which Sanskrit and Persian enjoyed in ancient and medieval India.

Because of the continuing legal provisions for English, it has retained its place as an associate official language of national administration. In spite of a complicated policy acknowledging Hindi and official state languages, most government business at both central and state levels, are firmly within the English realm. The dominance of English in official discourse has frequently proved controversial, with nationalist rhetoric deploring the persistence of the tongue of imperial history and foreign interests.

One argument against official and administrative usage of English is that it hampers the development of regional languages. Proponents of this view generally level a charge that the Indian education system is somehow responsible for perpetuating the dominance of the English language at the cost of other regional languages. According to a rough estimate there are 200 million people enrolled in educational institutions in India, 50 million of who receive English medium instruction. While state run primary and secondary schools, as well as many colleges, use regional language media, at higher levels English is dominant. Since education is the prerogative of the states, there is no uniform policy governing the commencement and number of years of English instruction in schools, but English is shown to be the most widespread second language at every educational level in all states.

The Indian public seems to have retreated further from the notion of 'eventual replacement' of English in the educational system, with 'concurrent continuation' as the de facto practice. Even public figures that loudly reject English as an instrument of oppression continue to send their children to English medium schools, acknowledging in private that this is an instrument of advancement at all the levels. It is a fact that the current occupational opportunity structure in India reinforces the authority of English in defining desirable educational goals. As long as higher echelon civil service jobs and higher-paying private sector employment opportunities demand the ability to use English, the language will continue to be seen as an instrument for personal advancement by individuals. In contrast with the immediate post-independence period, when government

and educational institutions were perceived as sources of the authority of English, today it is corporate business, and science and technology that play this role. At the national level, progress is seen in terms of economic development, which provides English an absolute authority.

The contemporary English-speaking, metropolitan, modernist and consumer-oriented culture is thus another frame through which language authority can be viewed in India. There is a qualitative difference between the transnational acculturation through English, and the colonial experience of identification with 'non-native' culture. The pre-Independence elite cultivated English as a second language skillfully using their bilingual facility to communicate and create a national vision at the regional level. A large number of today's metropolitan elite use English as adjunct first language. It is considered as an Indian language through which an entire life-world is constituted. Even urban children with a regional mother tongue may have only an English-medium education, so that for elite Indians, English is the language they know best, but not the one they learned first.

It would be a mistake, however, to characterise contemporary English as monolithic. It is made up of many speech genres, including the media-disseminated international news argot, as well as styles, syntax and pronunciation generated through long interaction with regional languages. The accents and idioms of Punjabi, Tamilian or Bengali English encode familiar ethnic identities among English-speaking Indians.

If we accept that social attitudes about English are one of the major sources of its authority, this explains why government policy and regulation would have a small effect in countering current use of English.

The crucial feature of India's linguistic landscape today is the development of major regional languages since independence. Increased literacy will strengthen and standardise regional languages. As technologies spread, regional languages will increasingly be documented and disseminated using computer technologies. The audio-visual media will adopt regional languages to reach vast audience. As this process unfolds, English will not be discarded, but may come to occupy functional roles in a less socially divisive manner. The quality of education will be considered more important than the medium, which may be bilingual or multilingual. The ability to use regional languages will carry prestige, and multilingualism will be considered as an asset. The natural growth process in language will be valued more highly than politician's symbolic manipulation of it.

What occurs during the era of regional language emergence will set future patterns for the relationship between language and information access on the one hand, and between knowledge and authority, on the other.

Conclusion

Language and Politics are closely interrelated in a multi-lingual society. Language is seen as a symbol of socio-cultural heritage, status and identity. Language is a potential tool for political power and authority. Language has played a crucial role in nation building in India and Language movements are closely inter-linked. In a multi-lingual and democratic society, it is easy to use the socio-cultural and linguistic identities as tools for achieving one's political aspirations. Politicians cannot ignore the grass root realities while adopting language policies and attempting at the development of languages.

APPENDIX - SCHEDULE A

The Constitutional provisions, Official Language Act and Official Language Rules are briefly stated below.

Constitutional Provisions

- ♦ Article 343: Official language of the Union The official language of the union shall be Hindi in Devanagri script with international form of numerals. English should continue for a period of fifteen years from the date of commencement of constitution. Parliament may however extend the period.
- ♦ Article 344: Appointment of a Language Commission and a Committee of Parliament to make recommendation to the president regarding the progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes.
- ♦ Article 345. It empowers the state legislature to choose one or more languages in the state or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purpose of that state.
- ♦ Article 346: Provides that the official language of Union should be the official language for communication between one state and another and between a state and the Union.
- ♦ Article 347: Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a state.
- ♦ Article 348: With regard to Supreme Court, and High Courts English would continue to be used for unspecified period of time.
- ♦ Article 349: Special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language
- ♦ Article 350A: Facilities for instruction in mother tongue at primary stage.
- ♦ Article 350B: Special officer for linguistic minorities.
- ♦ Article 351: Constitution imposes a duty on the Union Government to promote the spread of Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.
- ♦ Article 120: Business in Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English.
- ♦ Article 29(1): Right to conserve distinct language script or culture.

- ♦ Article 30(1): Right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT 1963

1. Continuation of English language for official purposes of the Union and for use of Parliament.
2. Committee on Official Language.
3. Authorised Hindi translation of central Acts, etc.
4. Authorised Hindi translation of state acts in certain cases.
5. Optimal use of Hindi or other official language in judgements, etc. of High Courts.
6. Power to make rules.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS RESOLUTION JANUARY 18, 1968

Duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language.

Development of Hindi and other regional languages in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the country.

Implementation of Three-Language Formula.

Compulsory knowledge of Hindi or English for the public services of the Union. Languages of the Eighth schedule to be used as alternative media for the All India and Higher Central Services examinations.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES RULES 1976

- 1) a. REGION A (Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, (including Uttaranchal, Chatisgarh and Jharkhand) and the U.T. Of Delhi). Andman and Nicobar Islands and Chandigarh)
- b. REGION B (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, and U.Ts of Chandigarh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- c. REGION C (All other states and Union territories).
- 2) Communication to states, etc. other than to Central Govt. offices.
 - a. REGION A Hindi
 - b. REGION B Hindi/English (with translation in Hindi).
 - c. REGION C English
- 3) Communications between Central Govt. offices.
 - a. Between Ministries or Department - Hindi or English
 - b. Between a Ministry/Department and its attached/subordinate offices in Region A -Hindi.
 - c. Between Central Govt. offices situated in Region A, B, or C - Hindi or English.
- 4) Replies of communication received in Hindi.
 - a. Applications, representations etc.
 - b. Noting in Central Govt. Offices
 - c. Proficiency/working knowledge of Hindi.
 - d. Manuals, Codes, other procedural literature, articles of stationary, etc. (bilingual).

Mother Tongue Education and Constitutional Safeguards

Language Education

The issues of mother tongue education are directly related to the main issues in education and cannot be studied or resolved in isolation. Within the broad aims and objectives of education in general, the aims and objectives of language education need to be specified clearly. The use of language in education has two primary roles: (a) language as the subject of study; and (b) language as the medium of instruction. The study of language as a subject involves the teaching and learning of four basic language skills of understanding (or listening), speaking, reading and writing. Proficiency in these skills will vary according to different language teaching or learning situations of mother tongue, first language, second language or foreign language.

Teaching of a language as a subject forms an essential part of any kind of education system. Provision for the study of languages is made right from the elementary level to the university level in different kinds of educational systems. Mother tongue education has lately attracted serious attention of educationists, language curriculum planners, and applied linguists. Teaching of the mother tongue is considered essential for concept formation, and for building the communicative and creative ability of a child. Besides the teaching of mother tongue as a compulsory subject, its use as the medium of instruction is considered important in early childhood education.

Mother Tongue Education- the role of Government

The primacy of the mother tongue teaching and its use as the medium of instruction has widely been accepted by educationists and linguists alike. The UNESCO press release on the Nuwera Eliya Conference (1953) states that on the educational grounds and in the interest of the cultural enrichment of the world, the medium of instruction in all countries should be the mother tongue. The report states. "it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind work automatically for expression and

understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium". (Koul 1983:10).

In India after independence, the importance of adopting the mother tongue as a compulsory subject of teaching and as medium of instruction has been stressed by various committees and political parties. The Congress Working Committee has adopted resolutions in 1949 and 1953 urging the government to make arrangements for providing instruction in the mother tongue at the primary level in all schools. The Conference of Education Ministers of all the states of India in 1949, and the States Reorganization Commission appointed by the Government of India, also made similar recommendations. It was on the recommendation of the Commission, that Article 350A was added to the Constitution of India by the Parliament. It reads "It should be the endeavor of every state and every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups." Realizing some practical difficulties, the Conference of Chief Ministers of all the states of India said in a joint statement in August 1961, that the mother tongue formula could not be fully applied for the use of medium of instruction at the secondary level of education. At this stage, more advanced education is imparted to enable students to follow a vocation after the school leaving age and also to prepare them for higher education in universities. The language used should be the modern Indian language mentioned in the Eighth schedule of the constitution, as well as English. It is true that there are bound to be problems in the use of all the mother tongues of minority groups in each state as the media of instruction for higher education. The children of the minority mother tongue groups are to be brought to the mainstream of the particular status educational system. The bilingual transfer model (Pattanayak 1981) can be used, which would facilitate the children of minority language groups to switch over to the regional language as the medium for learning.

a. The Case of Kashmiri

Recognizing the multilingual character of the country, twenty-two languages (twenty-one modern Indian languages and Sanskrit) have been recognized as major languages of the country and have been listed in the Eighth schedule of the Constitution of India. The Constitution provides for the use of all the modern regional Indian languages in administration and education by the concerned states where these languages are spoken natively. Besides the use of major modern Indian languages in the use of

education, the Constitution protects the right of the native speakers of all the minority languages to learn their mother tongues as subjects as well as their use as the media of instruction in early childhood education. Keeping in view the constitutional provisions, most of the states of the Indian union have chosen languages of their regions as the official languages and have made provisions for their effective use in administration, mass media and education. Kashmiri spoken as a mother tongue by about four million native speakers in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the major modern Indian languages included in the Eighth schedule of the Constitution. It was due to some political reasons that the state of Jammu and Kashmir chose Urdu instead of Kashmiri as the official language in the state; and it was introduced as a compulsory subject of study and the medium of instruction in government schools. A simple unconvincing political reason put forth is that the state is divided into three regions. Kashmiri is spoken primarily in the valley of Kashmir, Dogri (along with Punchi, Bhadarwah etc.) in the Jammu region, and Ladhakhi (along with other minor languages) in the Ladakh region. Hence the need for a link language chosen as Urdu, which is not spoken as a native language anywhere in the state. The Kashmiri speakers form the largest linguistic group in the State. Actually the linguistic situation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not very different from other states. Keeping in view the similar multilingual character of all other states of the Indian union and their successful choice of the main regional languages as the official languages, it would not have caused any problem in if the major regional language i.e. Kashmiri was adopted as the official language at the lower levels of administration in the valley of Kashmir; along with Urdu at the higher levels of administration in the state. Its use in administration, education and mass media would have been as successful, as is evident in other states using the regional languages for this purpose.

Kashmiri has been unnecessarily denied the right of an official language in its home state. It is also unfortunate that the children in the valley of Kashmir have been mercilessly denied their fundamental right (protected by the Constitution) of learning their mother tongue as a subject and, through their mother tongue, other school subjects. Kashmiri was introduced as a school subject at the primary level after independence and it continued to be taught up to the year 1953. It was suddenly scrapped from the school curriculum under the garb of reducing the language load of the children.

The recent years have witnessed a language movement in favor of Kashmiri in the valley of Kashmir and in favour of Dogri in the Jammu province. A post-graduate department in Kashmiri has been set up at the

University of Kashmir at Srinagar. The department offers instructions in a post-graduate diploma and M.A. in Kashmiri. Kashmiri has recently been introduced as a subject of study in some colleges in the valley of Kashmir. The Board of Secondary Education Kashmir has made a provision for its study as an optional subject in the two years of secondary education. A textbook has been prepared and published by the board for this purpose. But as long as Kashmiri is not introduced as a subject of study right from the primary level, it will not serve any useful purpose. Kashmiri also must be used as the medium of instruction in early childhood education. A sociolinguistic survey of Kashmiri has overwhelmingly supported the use of Kashmiri in education in the valley (Koul and Schmidt 1983).

b. Need For Constitutional Safeguards

On the one hand, the Constitution of India protects the use of minority languages as the subjects of study and their use as the media of instruction in the early childhood education, and on the other hand there are no constitutional safeguards if the children of a majority language speakers, like that of Kashmiri, are denied the right to study their mother tongue as a subject in schools; and also to learn other school subjects through their mother tongue. It is suggested that Union of India must ensure that the Constitutional provisions related to the use of mother tongue education must be safeguarded and implemented by all the states. Language education is to be given a prominent role in the education policy. It would be in the national interest to safeguard the uniform policy as far as language education is concerned.

Communication and Development

Introduction

The term communication has originated from the word 'communus' in Latin, which means 'commonness'. It implies that communication is related to sharing of commonness in different contexts and different dimensions of our lives. Communication is defined in simple terms as 'who says, what, to whom, with what effect.' It is considered as a tool of social adjustment, which reflects the efficient personality; and as a psychological and sociological technique of modifying human behaviour by means of body, voice, thought and language. There are five factors that are involved in any communication process:

- 1) Initiator
- 2) Recipient
- 3) Model, or a channel
- 4) Message, and
- 5) Effect.

In effective communication, special case is to be taken by the initiator to prevent distortions in communicating a message.

Role of Communication in Development

The relevance of communication for societal development is undeniable. The development of a society presupposes adoption of its people to newer norms, attitudes, and values at each stage. Effective communication smoothens out this transition. Communication, in a very broad sense, is an effort on the part of individuals in influencing others in bringing about a change in their attitudes, beliefs and norms. It is a very complex process involving human perception, needs, drives, emotions, attitudes, and values. When properly understood, it can be powerful tool in enhancing human welfare – that is what development is all about.

What constitutes 'development' depends on what social goals are advocated by the development agency, government etc. We take development to be a vector of desirable social objectives; i.e. it is a list of attributes which society seeks to achieve. The elements of this vector may include:

- Increase in per capita income,
- Improvement in health and nutritional status,
- Improvement in educational achievements,
- Increase in access to resources,
- Increase in a fairer distribution of income, etc.

Development needs to be redefined as an attack on the chief evils of the world today viz. malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, inequality etc. Measured in terms of aggregate growth rates, development has been a success. But, measured in terms of jobs, justice, and elimination of poverty, it has been a partial success.

Development is not purely an economic phenomenon. In a broad sense, it must encompass more than financial and material aspects of people's lives. Development should, therefore, be perceived as a multidimensional process, involving reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social systems. In addition to improvements in income and output, it involves changes in the institutional, social, and administrative structure.

Communication plays a crucial role in the development of a society, state or a nation. It is not restricted to its traditional role of dissemination of information, but has to meet the demands of a growing society. Communication is a bi-directional phenomenon. The source of communication in developing society attains crucial importance. The type of communication source is especially relevant in its diffusion. Diffusion refers to the dissemination of information about innovations. The way in which the source communicates the innovation to the masses determines its diffusion - spread of the message. The success of several developmental programmes designed to alleviate poverty or impart illiteracy depends, to a great extent, on how the government officials-as sources of communication-are able to communicate or propagate them.

Communication can also be seen as being at the centre of the development process. From this perspective, the problem is to see how communication can play its role in transforming traditional societies into modern ones. The diffusion of innovations, here, has a major role to play.

Various theories of development support the important role of communication. It has an important role in changing the traditional societies into modern societies. The development process is directly linked with the mobilization of population, growing urbanization, spread of literacy, economic prosperity, and increasing the participation of people in different socio-cultural, economic and political activities.

In India, as in other third world countries, most channels of communication like Radio, TV, Films, and Press, are special privileges

enjoyed principally by the urban population. There is an imbalance in mass communication. For example, foreign news, feature advertising of consumable items, and entertainment programmes enter to the interests of the higher state of people in urban areas. There is an increasing dominance of developed countries in the areas such as TV programmes, foreign news, and advertising. It, certainly, causes concern in the third world as many countries feel that their cultural integrity and even the national sovereignty is threatened by the alien influence of communication technologies that are widening the gap between developed and developing countries. This concern turned crucial after the NAM Summit, in 1976 proclaimed the need for a new International Information Order; and UNESCO sponsored the inter-government conference on communication policies in Latin America, and the Caribbean in San Jose, Costa Rica. The thrust with reference to the third world countries is now on 'another development' and 'alternative communication'. Not only were the old models of development that revolved around investment and capital accumulation being given up, but also, the role of communication in the process of development was given a rethinking. Development in the third world countries, including India, revolved more around the concepts of 'distribution' where there was a shift towards a society rooted in equity and widespread participation of the people in decision-making. Communication in such a society satisfies the important social need to inform and to be informed.

Relationship Between Communication and Development

Having known what exactly communication and development mean, it is important to look at the relationship that exists between the two. The relationship between the two is complimentary, i.e. to say - not only is communication instrumental in bringing about development, but development causes the creation of new channels of communication. It is clear that the study of the structure and functions of communication channels at work reflects the economic development of that society. Less developed societies cannot have advanced communication networks. This means that the underdeveloped countries will have underdeveloped communication too. In this context, it would be appropriate to say that while one may utilize new communication strategies for use in development, one would also have to usher in communication networks suitable for the level of development in the country. It is, therefore, not wrong to say that the call for ushering in of an information society has little relevance in a developing world if contrast exists between the communication potential and the actual communication of the message. The communication process

needs to be relevant to reflect the ethos and culture of the plural Indian society.

Importance

Communication is the very fabric of any society and the basic need in any form of government. Communication creates awareness amongst individuals and leads to social cohesiveness in society. It forms the basis of modernization and development, paving the way for nation building and strengthening the national integration. The more efficient the communication channel, larger is the scope for smooth and uninterrupted access to information. Information is a necessary input in every aspect of decision-making.

The main problem facing the developing world in general, and India in particular today, however, is not the lack of technologies and scientific discoveries needed for economic growth and rural change. The real problem is that of converting them into productive accomplishments; and using them as instrument of economic growth and social change. This depends to a great extent on the speed with which the technologies are transformed from their source to the ultimate unit of their utilization, so that the users clearly understand, accept and apply them in their day-to-day practices. This process of transfer of research ideas to field level for utilization has to take place as effectively as possible. The Lab to Land dissemination has to take place using effective communicative linkage services.

Agriculture is the backbone of an economy like that of India. When an increase in agricultural productivity, employment, income, and food production; wider participation in decision making and more equal distribution of income and opportunities are the set goals, it calls for Land Reforms. What is required is the establishment of institutions such as cooperatives and farmers associations to dispense credit, fertilizer, water, attention service etc. besides more information systems.

For achievement of these goals, dissemination of information on new technologies is required, as well as interaction on how best to grow new seeds and crops by using new methods, machines and equipment and other inputs such as fertilizer, water and insecticide.

In India, many cottage industries have been rendered uneconomic due to obsolete technologies. At the same time, they just cannot afford to modernize with high capital-intensive technology. The dissemination of proper information about the adequate intermediate technology and its subsequent adoption and execution can help revive the cottage and village industries.

Besides, modern industry and business too need latest means of communication at every stage and at every level of decision-making. The

right decision at right time is key to survival and efficient operation of any business organisation and industry, especially in a highly competitive environment. Correct information about capital market, labour market, product market and government policies are important inputs for them for taking decisions. Efficient and appropriate communication channels are required so that necessary information reaches the concerned person at the right time to help him arrive at the best decision.

Communication Channels

Communication channels form a very important and integral part of the communication process. Here we can think of four basic channels of communication:

1. Transport network
2. Interpersonal communication
3. Mass media and
4. Communication through new technology

The transport network is the most primary channel of communication. In most developing countries like India, which have heavy rural leanings there should be a smooth flow of persons, goods and messages from the urban centres to the rural areas. A good network of roads, railways and waterways is a basic condition for development.

The second most important channel of communication, and the one, which is crucial in the initial stages of development, is the interpersonal communication. It is the process by which human beings interact with one another through gestures, symbols and different speech patterns. It becomes crucial to grassroots level government officials, voluntary agencies, school teachers and progressive farmers in initiating developmental plans. Two terms can be introduced here. Homophile is the degree to which the interacting individuals have similar attributes like beliefs, values, norms and status; and heterophony is the extent to which they are different. For any kind of developmental work, the degree of homophile should be increased. It is thus imperative to choose grassroots level workers from a similar social milieu to propagate programmes dealing with sanitation, hygiene practices, family planning and welfare and the like. As, herein, it becomes necessary to avoid communication behavior that generates defensiveness. The receiver of the message should not perceive, from the expressions, manner of speech, tone or voice of the communicator any kind of criticism or judgment. This is often heightened if the communicator shows an apparent lack of concern or an impersonal attitude. Such situations

can be avoided when the behaviour of the individual is emphatic, spontaneous, and oriented towards solving mutual problems. Any form of interpersonal communication will pay dividends when it is informal, does not involve strict observance of rules, and evolves as the interaction proceeds.

Under mass communication, information, ideas, and attitudes, are delivered to a sizable audience through various media. The crux of mass communication is that, unlike interpersonal communication; it is one to many. Therefore, to that extent the spread of impact is simultaneous. It is thus perceived to be a very powerful tool of communication for developmental purposes. Radio, T.V., films, press, posters and street plays all can play their part as effective communicators for developmental activities.

Communications

The new technologies are:

1. Satellite based Television broadcasting
2. Long distance telephone,
3. Video cassette Recorders,
4. Computer based interactive technologies as electronic messaging systems, computer bulletin boards, teletexts and videotexts.

In India, the INSAT series of satellites has played a pioneering role in showing how modern communication technologies can help in the country's development. Projects like STEP (Satellite Television Experiments Project) and SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) have carried the fruits of new communication technologies to the grassroots level. Similarly the NICNET has networked the entire country for easier implementation of the nationwide developmental processes. The new communication technologies have certain unique features:

1. They are interactive. The telephone is a very common example of such interactivity. There is a great emphasis on rural telephone exchanges. C-DOT aims to have a telephone exchange in every Indian village.
2. They are individualised. A special message can be conveyed to each individual in a large audience - a good substitute for inter-personal communication.
3. Messages can be sent and received at a time convenient for the individual users. For example, an electronic message sent on a computer network could be received at home or office computer whenever one logs on to the computer.

The recent advancement in information technology has opened up an alternative channel for communication, which will compete with the traditional channels for supremacy.

Storage of information in computers, its rapid processing and dissemination help is decision making. Modern information technology has an edge over the traditional; it provides much better data storage and processing facilities. Dissemination of information from one point to another also takes place at a much faster rate and at reduced cost through media like voice, videotexts etc.

Parallel processing, optical disks, cellular radio, fiber optic cable and optic telecommunications makes it possible to locate and communicate with anybody almost anywhere in the world. Moreover, optical computer is also expected to make its presence felt in near future, empowering computers with unprecedented computing power.

Various types of information technologies can be integrated in some type of global system. Open system standards like the Integrated Service Digital Network (ISDN) will soon make it possible to connect hardware and software together, as well as enable multimedia applications that link together data, voice, videotexts and any type of information.

Communication in Development Administration

Administration, which has, as its special focus, the task of bringing about development (basically meaning a rise in the living standards of people) is Development Administration. Development in India is a corollary of the dictum of the welfare state contained in Article 38 of the Constitution. The socio-economic transformation of the countryside is virtually dependent on information technology as well as inter-personal communication skills amongst our administrators. We can, therefore, proceed to examine the tools of communication at our disposal in development administration. Main tools are: Media, Planning, and Information Technology.

Role of the Media

Radio, T.V., and newspapers help immensely in getting messages conveyed to the people. The message of the new development strategies and success in such strategies can always serve as role models for similar developmental efforts. However, by and large, it is felt that the media focuses on two aspects: politics and cinema. Development news is yet to find its roots in Indian media. The developmental programmes of literacy, health, family planning do not get as much coverage as required in the media.

Communication and Planning for Rural Development

The quality of planning depends greatly on the presence of an adequate information system. Often, large sized programmes like IRDP fail to deliver goods because vertical as well as horizontal movement of information is slow.

The Information Technology has a prominent role in improving productivity. The following attributes of new Information Technology has helped in the productivity gains in several ways:

- a. The ability to store and retrieve large amounts of information,
- b. The ability to update and share information on line across bureau and departmental lines.
- c. The ability to speed up the creation of official documents that the agencies are expected to produce, and
- d. The ability to bring about a greater exchange of information.

Most public officials are already aware of the need to react more quickly. This is one of the reasons for public agencies investing heavily in sophisticated and expensive hardware and software. However, The technology is not used adequately due to lack of training. Funding for the necessary training of government employees lags behind the expenditure incurred on hardware and software.

There are a few situations where Information Technology-assisted rural management has improved situations beyond expectations. In the management of primary education system, Information Technology has played a vital role. The NIC has developed software for districts to manage their routine activities like student-teacher ratio, grants per students, infrastructure available at school, accessibility and efficiency of teachers. Most of the district education officers, wherever such a system is implemented today, have up-to-date information about each teacher's activity. This gives the administrators sufficient time and knowledge to plan educational programmes in advance.

Second, the NIC and other agencies have embarked on the uphill task of developing a computer-based record system which provides all features like *Patta* no., owner name, size of the *Patta*, location etc. This is very useful because management of up-to-date land records is the key to better revenue collection, and settlement of long disputes for developmental purposes and implementation of land reforms.

Socio-cultural and Economic Development

Communication process can be seen as a necessary condition of change, especially where the latter is thought of in terms of technological or socio-cultural inventions. Many experts have suggested that a primary mover in the economic changes in the present century is the transmission of a picture of a modern way of life. Others feel societies are transformed more by form, rather than by contents of communication. For instance, the electrically operated modern media of communication like radio, TV, telephone, telegraph and computers initiate rapid social change and development.

The size of communication activity, the development of mass media and their audiences, and the shift of individual communication roles to multiplicity of communication channels, reflects the economic development of the society. The contents of communication reflect the value pattern of the society. The communication agency is also capable of developing attitudes for social transformation. The nature of media communication is interpersonal; this brings people together to make social life possible. It also breaks down barriers in human interaction and results in social change.

Social change is defined as the transition to new customs and practices, and in some cases, to different social relationships. There are three kinds of communication tasks behind social change vis-a-vis national development:

1. People must have information about national development;
2. they should have opportunity to participate in the decision making process; and
3. there should be more knowledge about health.

Interpersonal communication is given more credence than mass media in India because mass media are urban-based. Interpersonal dissemination of content of communication is to an extent subject to existence of groups and opinion leadership. Every society gives rise to certain needs resulting from more and more awareness and education. Group should be aware of needs and opportunities available to satisfy those needs. Leaders should be convinced of the need to change. The media should use the language of the target group. There should be no imposition of change from the top. Local media can be used for change. Programmes should originate near the audience.

Coming to the conceptual insights of various theories that were advanced about the effects of mass media, it is interesting to note that there is a shift towards focusing the attention of the target groups on the

content of the message. In fact, communication is opening the 'window to the world'.

It is desirable to exploit the latest technological advancements in science and technology with a holistic and integrative approach, in the area of health, irrigation, agriculture, credit system, literacy and communication. In building the momentum for voluntary action involving thousands of people and lakh of target groups, the traditional modes and means of communication like street plays, dramas etc. have proved their effectiveness by mobilizing largest number of people for this effort.

While recognizing the positive side of communication for the development of the society, we should not ignore the potential of communication for negative effects, especially due to the electronic media. Some recent sociological studies have revealed a discernible connection between communication explosion and the actions of the affected. The naked display of violence, sex and obscenity will have a profound effect on the minds of the people, especially on tender ones. Since freedom dominates the world presently, the only way to get insulated from the bad effects of communication is to be more vigilant, discreet and prudent in our attitude towards communication.

Conclusion

To sum up, communication is necessary but not a sufficient condition for development. It can project the image of society as we wish it to be, help in reshaping attitudes and values, lend a helping hand in imparting knowledge, and even teach some necessary techniques and skills. It must be seen as a useful tool of the policy processes that restructure society. Communication can be good or bad, functional or dysfunctional. It largely depends on who controls and for whom it is controlled. Human groups learn to adjust to realities, and communication can do the greatest service to mankind in helping it adapt to the emerging situation.

Use of Indian Languages in Administration

Introduction

The use of Indian languages in administration has given rise to a number of issues and problems. Keeping in view the multilingual ethos of the country and its socio-economic and historical background, special constitutional provisions have been made and steps undertaken in dealing with various issues and problems. Here an attempt will be made to review briefly some of the prominent issues and problems which need to be resolved in the smooth implementation of constitutional provisions and official language policy adopted at the Union and State levels.

Pre-Independence Scenario

The multilingual, multi-cultural and multiethnic characteristics of India, varying socioeconomic strata of people and complex communication patterns, were well recognized during the pre-independence period. There is evidence to show that before the rulers from outside began ruling different parts of the country, local languages had a prominent role in administration. Two major foreign languages Persian and English came to be used in administration with the arrival of Mughals and Britishers in India respectively. During the independence struggle, prominent political leaders, especially Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, had a deep understanding of the problems of language issues. They advocated the use of provincial or regional languages in different states, and Hindustani in both Devanagiri and Perso-Arabic scripts at the Union level, for inter-state communication. They supported the idea of reorganization of states on linguistic basis for the administrative convenience.

The history of reorganization of Indian States on linguistic basis began during early British administration. It was supported by political movements launched by Mahesh Narayan for the removal of Hindi speaking regions from Bengal in 1886. Lokmanya Tilak strongly pleaded the idea of reorganization of States on language basis before the Royal Commission in 1908. The Motilal Nehru Committee set-up by the All Parties Conference

in 1928 also supported the idea. The Indian National Congress reaffirmed the principle on several occasions between 1928 and 1947 (Mazumdar 1970:53-54).

Post-Independence Scenario

After independence, the committees and commissions on the reorganization of States focused on four basic principles of administrative convenience: language, culture, development, and unity. A States Reorganization Commission set-up in 1953 looked into different principles and made suggestions on the categorization of monolingual (where 70% or more of the entire population speak the same language), and bilingual (where 30% or more of the entire population speak a language other than the language of the region) States. It also recommended that the language of the minority should be used in official business in a district, where it is spoken by 70% or more of the population; in bilingual districts, municipal areas or in Talukas where minorities contribute to 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the population, all documents, notices, electoral rolls etc. must be printed in both the languages.

The principle of reorganization of States on linguistic basis has over the years given rise to various political movements and agitation's. The linguistic and cultural identity is a strong unifying force behind these movements. The dominance of the so-called major regional or official language and non- implementation of the recommendation for the protection of rights of linguistic minorities are primarily responsible for rise of political movements on linguistic basis.

Provisions in the Constitution

The Constitution of India in its Eighth Schedule recognizes 18 major languages namely Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Marathi, Malayalam, Manipuri, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. All the States have been given the choice to select any of the languages listed above as official language or languages for the State. Whereas all States, naturally, made a choice in favour of their regional or dominant native language as the official language, Jammu and Kashmir was the only State, which chose Urdu a non-native language, as the official language of the State. The Constitution declares Hindi in Devanagiri script as the official language of the Union along with English as an associate official language, which was supposed to be replaced by Hindi within 15 years (i.e. by 1965). However, politically motivated anti-

Hindi agitations resulted in the passing of Official Language Act, 1963, followed by an amendment in 1967, which guarantees the use of English as an associate official language for an indefinite period of time.

The Constitution protects the right of the linguistic minorities in each State for the preference of their linguistic and cultural identity. All the States are bound to make provision for the use of minority languages in education and also in local administration where these languages are spoken natively. Though there are constitutional safeguards for linguistic minorities as far as their right to the use of their languages in education and local administration in the States is concerned, in practice, these provisions are not implemented adequately. Not only a large number of languages of linguistic minorities but also languages of majority population (as in the case of Kashmiri and Dogri in Kashmir and Jammu regions of the State of Jammu & Kashmir respectively) have not been assigned any role in administration.

Steps taken by Government

The use of any language in administration necessitates the development and standardization of administrative register of the language. Towards this end, different steps have been taken at both Union and State levels. At the Union level, various commissions and boards have been formed for undertaking the work and for funding and monitoring the language development programmes taken-up by various States. The Government of India has setup the following prominent institutions under the Union Department of Education:

- ❖ The Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology (CST)
- ❖ Central Hindi Directorate
- ❖ National Council for the Promotion of Urdu Language (NCPUL)
- ❖ Central Institute of Hindi (CIH)
- ❖ Central Institute of Indian languages (CIIL)
- ❖ National Council for the promotion of Sindhi Language (NCPSL)

The main objective of these institutions is the development of Indian Languages to facilitate the use of these languages in education, mass media and administration. The CST has undertaken various projects for the development and standardization of technical terminology including the glossaries of administrative terms in Hindi and other regional languages. The Commission also monitors similar work taken-up by various States and provides academic collaboration for the development of technical

terminology. The CHD, NCPUL and the NCPUL are charged with the responsibility of the development of Hindi, Urdu and Sindhi respectively, with special reference to their use in administration and education. The CIH is engaged primarily in imparting training in Hindi to teachers as well as to officers to enable them to use Hindi in administration. The Official Language Department of the Government of India has setup Kendriya Hindi Prashikshan Sansthan (Central Institute of Hindi Training) for imparting training to Government of India officers in the use of Hindi in administration. This training is at three levels: Prabodh, Praveen and Pragya. The Official Language Department has also undertaken various schemes in collaboration with other institutions for imparting training to Hindi typists and stenographers. It also provides different kinds of incentives to Government of India officers in the use of Hindi in administration. The Official Language Department also reviews and monitors the progress made by different Government of India offices in the use of Hindi in administration through periodical reports on a continuous basis.

Most of the States have set-up university and school level textbook boards for the preparation of instructional materials for the medium switch over into respective regional languages. Different States have also setup language departments, academies and also training institutions for imparting training to their officers in the use of their respective official languages in administration. The Union also provides grants under various schemes for the language development programmes. However, there is no uniformity as far as the objectives and achievements of these institutions are concerned. Some States have paid adequate attention towards it and have utilized the central grants for achieving the objectives, but there are others where even the grants have not been utilized. Most of the Language Departments and Academies are vigorously engaged in the translation of standard textbooks, office manuals, rules and procedures in the regional languages.

The preparation of administrative terminologies and manuals form the major part of their activities. In-service training institutions run by State governments, impart training to their officers and staff in the use of State official languages. Some States do offer incentives to their officers and staff for using the regional languages in administration.

Present Scenario

In comparison to other regional languages now being used in administration, Hindi-the official language of the Union and ten States

namely Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Chattisgarh, Uttaranchal, and Delhi-is in an advantageous position in so as far as the efforts are made in its use in administration. The Central Institute of Indian Languages is the only central agency charged with the responsibility of conducting research and training programmes in all other Indian languages. The Institute's research and training programmes are primarily centered on academic interest and educational point of view. The institute does conduct occasionally special training programmes for training Central and State government officers, including bank officers, in the use of particular regional languages in administration. The institute also collaborates with different States governments in the preparation of instructional materials and language training programmes.

Certain professional training institutions at the Center and State levels are also engaged in training government officers in the use of Hindi and regional languages in administration. The LBS National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, conducts language-training programmes for IAS and other top central service officers. The training is imparted in the four basic skills of the respective languages and also in their use in administration. Similarly, National Police Academy and other central training institutions offer instructions in respective regional languages to their officers while on training.

The administrative structure of the country as visualized by Nehru and other prominent leaders has undergone a major change after independence. The British legacy of bureaucracy and administrative pattern could not continue for long. The role of administrators or officials at different levels is undergoing fast changes. The concept of participatory democracy at the grass root level is gaining ground slowly. An enormous stress on developmental administration is responsible for the need for an effective and continuous communication between the officials and the community at different levels. The officials at the grass-root level have a major role to play in the dissemination of information flow on various developmental programmes. In order to reach all the people, and to ensure their meaningful participation in all the developmental activities, it is important to strengthen the inter personal communication at all levels.

Problems in choice of languages

The multilingual and multi-cultural character of the country with high rate of illiteracy poses a large number of problems for language planners in administration. According to the 1971 census, 281 languages are spoken

by more than 5000 speakers each, and 221 languages are spoken by more than 10,000 speakers each. Further break-up of these languages is as follows: 33 languages are spoken by 1 million or more speakers, 49 languages are spoken by 100 thousand to less than a million speakers, and 139 languages are spoken by 10,000 to less than 100 thousand speakers each. Most of these languages have their own varieties and styles of speech. Keeping in view the multiplicity of existing languages, it is only a limited number of them, which are being currently used in administration.

The first and foremost responsibility with the State governments is the implementation of constitutional provisions with regards to the use of minority languages, and also hitherto ignored local majority languages, in administration. This would certainly help the linguistic minorities to join the mainstream as far as the political consciousness and the concept of participatory democracy is concerned.

The need to strengthen the communication patterns has given rise to interesting developments in the use of languages in administration. In certain dominant regional language States, attempts are now being made to make use of minor and minority languages in specific regions and areas in local administration. Some States have recognized the second majority language as additional official language, like Urdu in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In some States, where a second language is used as the official language in administration, some roles are assigned to local regional language or languages. For example, English is used as the official language in Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Sikkim in the North East. The governments of these States now encourage their officers to use local languages too wherever required. In these States the IAS and other top central service officers learn the local languages of these States, -Nagamese in Nagaland, Assamese, Khashi and Boro in Meghalaya, Assamese and Mizo in Mizoram, Nepali, Lepcha and Sikkim Bhotia in Sikkim. The Jammu and Kashmir State has made it compulsory for the non-native IAS officers to learn spoken Kashmiri and Dogri besides Urdu - the official language.

It is interesting to note that some of the Hindi speaking State governments have also started patronizing the literary development of so-called regional varieties or dialects of Hindi, namely Maithili, Rajasthani, Bhojpuri, Braj, Pahari etc. None of the Hindi speaking State governments have made an official demand for the teaching of regional dialects to the top civil service officers. The feed back received from the IAS and other civil service officers allocated to these States support training in these so-called regional dialects of Hindi, which are more or less autonomous with regard to their linguistic structure and long literary tradition. Some strong

language movements are emerging in favour of Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani, and Pahari (including Garhwali) languages. Sometimes these language movements are considered a threat to the dominance of standard Hindi in administration.

Thus, a problem exists regarding the choice of language or languages in administration and their various functional roles. A dominant regional or official language and other local minor or minority languages are to be assigned different roles at various levels of administration. No single Indian State claims to be absolutely monolingual. The choice is, therefore, to be made regarding the roles to be assigned to other minor or minority languages in administration.

Problems in Implementation

Other problems connected with the use of language or languages in administration are as follows:

- ❖ Choice and standardization of scripts
- ❖ Non-availability of technical and printing facilities
- ❖ Standardization of grammatical forms where social and regional variations exist
- ❖ Development of need-based specialized vocabulary or registers.

The major official languages face some of these problems too, which are currently used at the Union level and in States.

Choice of Standardization of Scripts

It is economically viable and administratively convenient to use the script of major regional or official language for the unwritten minor language or languages of a particular State. There are, however, two problems in doing so. First, the speakers of some such languages cut across the State boundaries where different scripts are used for the major languages; second, the speakers of these languages would like to maintain a distinct linguistic and cultural identity. Therefore, certain tribes in Assam prefer to use Devanagari and Roman scripts for their languages and not the local script i.e. Assamese. Again, structural similarities between minor and major languages also pose a threat to the speakers of the minor language for losing their linguistic identity by using the script of the major language. This is the reason Dogri is written in Devanagari and not in Gurumukhi which is used for writing Punjabi.

As far as possible, attempts may be made for using the script of the major language of the State concerned for the un-written minor languages of the State, in case they are to be used in administration (and also in education). Efforts are to be made for standardizing the scripts of both major and minor languages, by devising additional diacritic marks to represent the phonetic characteristics of the language wherever necessary. The same script, when used for more than one language, would require some additional symbols keeping in view the phonetic characteristics of the concerned language using the script. The Devanagiri script is being used for Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Dogri, and Konkani. There is a scope for standardization of this script when it is used in different languages. Similarly, Perso-Arabic script is used for Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri, and Gojri. The standardization of this script and especially the additional diacritical symbols is yet to take place. Thus, the choice of the script and also its standardization are important issues as far as the use of language in administration is concerned.

Non Availability of Technical and Printing Facilities

The other problem related to the choice of script is the availability of typing and printing facilities, essential for the use of language in administration. This problem can be solved by the use of computers with software developed for Indian languages. The I-Leap software developed by the C-DAC facilitates printing in different scripts using the same keyboard.

Standardization of Grammatical Forms

Most of the major and minor Indian languages spoken in each State have different social and regional dialectical variations and styles of speech. In some cases, a particular regional or social variety is considered the standard variety. In general, this variety is preferred for use in education, mass media and administration. Besides knowing the standard written variety, for effective written and oral communication it is important to be acquainted with the major regional variations of the language. In certain languages such as Bengali and Kashmiri, a diglossic situation exists as far as the use of vocabulary is concerned. There are some variations at the grammatical level as well. There is a scope for standardization of grammatical forms to be used in administration, as in education. Since the language is used in administration at both oral as well as written levels, standardization at both levels will facilitate effective communication.

Development of need-based Technical terms or Registers

A major problem faced by the languages used in administration is the non-standardization of administrative registers including technical terminology and phrases, formats for notes and drafts. Even the administrative register in Hindi is not standardized yet. The same is the case with other regional official languages. There are different reasons for this. In case of Hindi, various States formed their own committees, commissions and boards for the collection and coinage of administrative terminology and phrases. At the Union level, the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology also prepared administrative terminology. Besides using different methodologies, there has been a lack of coordination between various agencies engaged in the same kind of work. The duplication of work also could not be avoided. The result is even for very common terms; different Hindi terms have been coined and are being used in different States or regions. At times, the terms coined appear quite artificial and are difficult to remember. It appears that all this has been done hurriedly in enthusiasm, using inappropriate methodology and relying mostly on artificial coinage of equivalent terms. No research was conducted and no adequate attempt made in collecting the terms already in use at some point or the other. The administrative terms would have developed more appropriately as a result of the use of a particular language in administration for certain period of time. There was no need to totally replace the English and Persian administrative terms which had gained currency by over many years by artificially coined ones from Indian languages.

Conclusion

To sum up, it is reiterated that the use of Indian languages in administration has to be planned keeping in view the multilingual ethos of each State and nation as a whole. The changing administrative structure of the country, with emphasis on participatory democracy from grass root level to the top, necessitates the careful choice of the language or languages to be used in administration in each State, and assigning of appropriate roles to other minor and minority languages at different levels. The problems regarding the choice of language or languages, choice and standardization of scripts, technical facilities, standardization of grammatical terms and, finally, the development of need-based administrative registers can be resolved by the concerned States and the Union as a whole. It would be appropriate to have a central agency or commission to tackle these issues in collaboration with the concerned State or States.

Language Learning and the Use of Network

Introduction

There is a tremendous increase in the use of modern technology in the school education at different levels. It is felt that the use of technology in schools allows teachers to do a better job in the present challenging environment by empowering and motivating students in different ways. It allows the use of innovative learning styles and facilitates the learners to move at a pace suitable to them. The use of new technology provides opportunities to students to tap into their natural curiosity. The modern technology has an important role in the acquisition and transfer of knowledge using resources from Internet. Accessing resources from the Internet is a beneficial tool in helping students to gain a higher level of achievement. It is believed that the Internet resources appeal to students of all ages and abilities and motivate them to study on their own at leisure. There are no geographical barriers and constraints of time in the acquisition of knowledge and skills. It can change the way of learning and students can take the control of their own learning. Students can access a large number of resources around the world including latest information, databases and archives. They can share information with other students and teachers electronically through e-mail, list servers, discussion groups and bulletin boards. It breaks the barriers of time and space. Students can discuss the problems and seek answers. It is possible for teachers to provide personal attention to the problems faced by the individual learners and enhance the students' sense of self esteem. It is important for the teachers and students to be familiar with the different available tools and resources that would contribute to their effective use and improve the quality of education. The present paper explores the possibilities of the effective use of network in the early child education with special reference to language learning in a multilingual society.

Use of Computers

The use of computers is on continuous increase at the primary level of school education throughout the world. Usually the children at the elementary level of schooling are provided basic skills for the use of computers, and

they are also taught how computers can be used in acquiring knowledge related to various subjects in school education. Whereas the use of computers have become an essential part of the schooling system in the developed countries, their use is restricted to private schools (which are called Public schools in India) in the developing countries. Various studies have been conducted related to the their effectiveness in the school education.

According to Kirkpatrick and Cuban (1998) studies of classroom use of computers have found evidence of moderate effectiveness in the academic performance of students who use them. They have also found evidence of minimum effectiveness and of no effectiveness at all. The studies cited by them point out to the lack of clarity in the aims of the use of technology in schools with special reference to the use of computers as effective teaching tools without having a clear focus. The studies also cite student grade levels and achievement gains in experimental vis -a- vis control groups of students. Some studies support the use of computers and others do not find them effective at all or not up to the level of expectation. One can question the validity of the studies at different levels on the basis of the objectives of research, methodology, and the sample.

Keeping in view an increasing use of computers in schools, one need not question the effectiveness of their use as a technology tool; one has to think about the teaching strategies, which would ensure their effective use. There are other pressing issues too. It is important to make a distinction of the use of computers in teaching different school subjects. They can be used more effectively in teaching certain subjects and not all. There is no dispute regarding the relevance of imparting the skills of the use of computers. The skills are relevant, as children have to acquire them at one stage or the other in their educational career. It is easier and appropriate to impart the skills in early school education. It is important to consider the issues related to the use of network in schools for acquiring knowledge related to various school subjects.

We have to make a distinction in the use of network in the monolingual and bi-/multilingual situations. Currently the network is available through one dominant language i.e. English. Whereas a few select privileged languages too are in the race, other numerous languages are left out or ignored. The UNESCO highly recommends the use of mother tongues as the media of instruction in the early school education. An important issue is how to facilitate the use of electronic network in schools in multilingual societies? How to cater to the needs of children who would like to learn through their mother tongue? In case the language of the network is different from that of the mother tongue of the children how to ensure the non-discriminatory use of electronic network? How to preserve linguistic rights

of the children to learn through their mother tongue and not be compelled to switch over to the alien or dominant language in his/her early childhood education? How to provide an equal opportunity to children in a multilingual context for accessing to the knowledge and information?

The researchers have discussed and debated the use of computers in classroom and the teacher's role at length. In general there are three broad categories of the use of computers in classroom instruction. They are: Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI), Computer Managed Instruction (CMI), and Computer Enhanced Instruction (CEI). The CAI refers to computer programmes that provide students with drill and practice exercises or need based tutorial programmes. The CMI refers to programmes that evaluate and diagnose students' needs, guide them through the further steps in learning and record their progress for the use of the teacher. Both CAI and CMI de-emphasise the role of the teacher in the process of students learning. Computers play a major role. The CEI differs from CAI and CMI mostly in that its programmes provide less structured and more open-ended opportunities that support a particular lesson or unit plan. Use of the Internet, word processing, and graphing and drawing programmes are examples of CEI. Teachers in CEI are viewed as essential partners in the learning process, because simply seating students in front of computers to surf the Net will not result in the same learning curve as when teachers assign well designed projects in which students use the Net to gather information.

Use of Electronic Network

In the research results related to the use of computers in classroom instruction advantages are listed in the areas of systematic planning of lessons, obtaining immediate feedback from the students and planning of remedial lessons, facilitating individualized attention, improvement in the students participation and motivation, enhanced and continuous assessment and access to enormous and varied database, spreadsheet programs and graphic programs which students can make use of at their will. For the effective use of computers there is a need to develop appropriate software, which enhance the learning process and do not create burden and complexities.

The use of Network can contribute to the improvement in the quality of education in different ways. It can provide opportunities to the students or learners to work independently under the overall guidance of the teachers. A teacher's role would be to present ideas in an appropriate way to motivate the students in to the excitement or experience of learning. A teacher can take advantage of the natural curiosity of the children and allow them to

interact with the information available on Internet. The proper use of the network resources will definitely improve the quality of education.

Students can learn through asking and answering questions related to different subjects they study. They can ask and respond to questions with other friends in another state or county. This will provide wide learning experience to them. It would certainly help them to explore deeply complex cultural and linguistic issues or solve problems at hand with distant peers over a period of time. This would also help them to conduct collaborative projects.

Availability of the network facilities would help teachers too in upgrading their learning/teaching skills too. The teachers have to be familiar with the technical equipment and software. They have to make a proper selection of them and adapt the curriculum to the needs of students.

Use of Network in Language Education

The general objectives of language education in any language teaching and/or learning situation are aimed at building proficiency among the learners in the use of the language. The language proficiency usually involves the intuitive mastery of the forms of language; its linguistic, cognitive and socio-cultural aspects; the ability to use the language in natural communication; and the creative use of the language. However, specific objectives with regard to a particular language course may vary from one situation to another. The objectives determine the nature and use of instructional materials, and methods.

As in other subjects, the use of electronic network in language teaching has resulted in new language teaching methodologies in various languages teaching and learning situations. In the mother tongue or first language (L1) teaching situation, there is a primary stress for the teaching of reading and writing skills. The development of the reading skill would range from the recognition and reading of alphabet, composition of words, sentences, to different types of materials with comprehension and speed. Different innovative software is prepared to help the learner in achieving the objectives of learning this skill. Similarly, imparting writing skill would range from the writing of alphabet to words, sentences, and composition of simple text to creative writing. It is possible to use different computer aided language learning materials to master these skills. In the second/foreign language teaching situation, there is a stress for the teaching of all the four skills i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing. The Computer Aided Language Learning (CALL) materials are prepared keeping in

view the objectives of the course and the need of the learners. Different types of CALL self instructional as well as supplementary classroom materials are currently being prepared and used in different languages. Various kinds of tests in languages are constructed to test the achievement of the learners with an aim to devise remedial materials for teaching.

The use of modern technology in language teaching as other subjects has drastically changed the role of teachers. Teachers are no longer as givers of knowledge or skills. They are now looked as facilitators, guides and co-learners in the process of learning. Teachers are expected to provide suitable learning environment, experience and activities and to create opportunities for students to work in collaboration with the available resources and to acquire and share knowledge with responsibility. The teachers guide the students to explore the possibilities in developing their language skills. They use the skills acquired by them in different ways and come over the shortcomings and or lapses if any. They get an ample opportunity to use the acquired skills using Internet. Teachers provide guidance in their discovery-oriented exploration necessary for the development of various skills. The multimedia allows the students to learn in the manner they want to learn. They have wide options available for reading varied text, attempting drills and exercises and testing their learning and achievements. They can select the remedial materials and seek guidance from the teachers to resolve complexities if any. The learners are engaged in the tasks of the selected by or for them. As they get an immediate feedback they are energised by learning and can select higher tasks for developing the skills further.

The use of multimedia is a powerful tool for the teachers as it helps them to develop need based materials. It is also useful for the students who can use these materials at their own pace and seek guidance or help from the teachers. Thus, the teachers and students can use the Internet in variety of ways to enhance their teaching and learning experience. For the effective use of the Internet, it makes new demands from both teachers and students. It provides global awareness to both teachers and students. The students cannot merely interact with other students within their class or area but can interact with others in different states or across the world. They can get the latest information on the subject. Students can make use of the acquired skills and overcome the difficulties by accessing to a variety of remedial materials. Teachers can share their experience with their colleagues or educators around the world and update their skills and design the need-based materials.

Language Learning Issues in a Multilingual Context

The number of dominant language or languages prevalent in a particular society determines its monolingual, bi- or multilingual character. It is a fact that a majority of countries are de facto multilingual countries as a number of languages are spoken natively within their boundaries. There are over 5000 languages spread over less than 200 independent countries of the world. The number of languages does vary from country to country. The linguistic character of a particular country determines the issues of language rights, language empowerment, language promotion, language policy and language planning. It is directly related to the use of language or languages in education at different levels. It is obvious that monolingual and bi-/multilingual countries differ in their approaches in language policy in education. In a dominant monolingual approach the dominant language is assigned prominent role in education and the mother tongues of the linguistic minorities are ignored. The linguistic minorities have to adopt the dominant language for their meaningful survival at different levels. In a multilingual approach all the languages spoken in the region, state or country are given equal importance as far as their use in different domains is concerned. This approach promotes the development of all the languages and encourages their use in education. Language policy of the country ensures the teaching of the mother tongues at the elementary level and their use as media of instruction in the early school education. Children may learn other language or languages at the higher levels of their education.

The multilingualism is fast developing as a world – wide phenomenon with the opening up of free economy, trade and globalisation. The result being that in the English dominated monolingual countries like the USA, England and Australia, the use of languages of the linguistic minorities including the languages of the migrants are increasingly used in education at the primary level. The voluntary/non governmental organisations are helping the migrant communities in the preservation and maintenance of these languages. There is a growth of language based ethnic schools and cultural centres. Multilingual countries face various problems in the formation and implementation of their language policies in education. We will mention some of these issues citing an example of India.

The multilingual and multicultural character of India with high rate of illiteracy (of 33%) poses a large number of problems for the use of languages in education. Grierson identified 179 languages and 544 dialects in his Linguistic Survey of India conducted during 1888 and 1927. The 1951 census lists 845 languages including dialects, 60 of which were spoken by more than 10,000 speakers each. The 1961 census lists 1652 mother tongues corresponding to 193 classified languages. The classified languages belong to four families of languages: Austic (20), Dravidian

(20), and Indo-Aryan (54), Tibeto –Burmese (98) and one of doubtful affiliation. In the 1971, 1981 and 1991 Census, distribution of household population is presented along with the Schedule VIII languages and other major languages. It is important to note that the percentage of speakers of 18 languages included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution is about 96% out of the total household population.

The multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic characteristics of India, varying socio-economic strata of people, complex communication patterns were well recognised during pre-independence period. The Constitution of India devotes 9 articles (Art 343-351) to the issues related to language policy of the Central and State Governments. While Hindi in the Devanagiri script is recognised as the official language of the Central Government along with English as the associate official language (initially for a period of 15 years up to 1965, however continues to be used by the Official Language Act passed in 1963 and amended later in 1967). The state Governments have a choice to adopt any language or languages listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution as the official language in their state. Whereas all the States made a choice in favour of their regional or dominant native language as the official language, Jammu and Kashmir Government chose Urdu – a non -native language of the State, some states in the Northeast decided in favour of English. The Constitution protects the right of the linguistic minorities in each State for preservation of their linguistic and cultural identity.

The Government of India adopted a Three-Language Formula in 1968. Under the Formula a child is supposed to learn three languages: mother tongue, Hindi and English. In case the mother tongue is Hindi the child will learn another modern Indian language preferable a South Indian language. The Formula is not however followed strictly in letter and spirit. For instance, Tamil Nadu teaches two languages: Tamil and English ; Hindi speaking states teach Sanskrit (a classical language) in place of modern Indian language. Usually three languages are used in the school education. However, the stages of introducing these languages vary from State to State and one schooling system to another.

In some schools two languages are introduced in the first primary itself and the third language is introduced at the sixth grade, in others the second language is introduced at the third standard and the third at the sixth standard. For teaching of tribal/minor languages as the mother tongues in schools, the Bilingual Transfer Model proposed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages is followed in some States. According to this Model, the mother tongue of the child is taught as a subject and is also used as the medium of instruction in the initial three years of primary education, and

the State's official language is introduced at the third primary level as a subject followed by other two languages at the sixth grade. The child has to learn four languages. There is no uniformity in the implementation of the Three-Language Formula in the Government and Public schools.

Use of Network in a Multilingual Context

Keeping in view the advantages of the use of Internet in teaching and learning of languages, it is imperative to make use of this technology in the teaching of languages in the primary education in a multilingual context as illustrated above. Children in a multilingual milieu cannot be denied their right to make use of the modern technology in learning languages. Following suggestions are made for introducing the Network:

The Network can be used in any language teaching and learning situation be it mother tongue/first language, second/foreign language. In the Indian multilingual context, it is important to make a distinction between home language and school language. The home language may be a social or regional dialect of the first language used in the school. In certain situations there are significant differences which establish the autonomy of the home language. For example, a child's mother tongue may be Braj, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Rajasthani etc (classified as so-called 'dialects' of Hindi) which are actually autonomous languages. Hindi is taught as a first language in the schools from the first primary in all the Hindi speaking states. The children have to learn the standard Hindi in the school, which is different from their home language. Most of the languages have their regional dialects, social dialects and different variations of speech, which are spoken by the children at home. The children are taught the standard variety of the language at school. In other situations the regional dialect for its use are to be specified clearly. In a mother tongue/first language teaching and /or learning situation, the programmes related to the reading and writing skills are to be selected and used. In the second/foreign language teaching situation the programmes related to all the basic skills i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing are to be selected and used.

The Network can be used extensively in the second/foreign language teaching/learning situation in many ways. In the second/foreign language teaching and/or learning situation there is a stress on the building of the communicability among the learners. It is not enough to master the four basic language skills; it is also essential that the learner should build communicative competence in the language. A learner should be able to use the language in its natural socio-cultural context. It is therefore necessary to acquire adequate knowledge of the social and cultural patterns of the society

in which the language is used natively. As language and culture are closely related, communicative competence would require familiarity with the socio-cultural context as well. The network can play an important role in providing a window to the culture of the people who speak the language natively. The teachers have to select appropriate materials, which would provide an input to the cultural context. It is appropriate where second/foreign languages are introduced in the primary education.

In the second/foreign language teaching and /or learning situation, the Network provides facility for widening the horizons of language learning. The learners can interact with any number of native speakers of the language and get answers to their queries. They can develop the basic language skills by actual use of the language in their interaction with the native speakers of the language of their own age group.

The learners can attempt joint tasks and assignments with the students of their choice. They can seek advice on their individual assignments and take up joint projects with other students using Network.

Keeping in view the advantages of the use of Network it is suggested that it is appropriate to use the Network in the mother tongue or first language teaching/learning situation as early as from the first primary class. The children will get exposed to various forms of the language use and its styles and registers. The Network can be used from the third primary class in the second/foreign language teaching and learning situation. Here the children have to learn some basic structures of the language before they would be able to make use of the Network for the wider experience. In any language teaching and learning situation it is necessary to plan the use of the Network in a systematic way. The choice of the programmes has to be made on the basis of the needs of the learners and the objectives of a particular language course.

Translation Tools

Currently, Network can be accessed through a few languages only. There is a strong need to develop Translation tools to facilitate its access through many other languages of the world. There are tremendous challenges in the multilingual context. In the multilingual situation like that of India, efforts need to be made to make it available through all major Indian languages which are used in education at the primary level. Presently there are about 50 mother tongues used in the Primary education. Some of these are used as second and third languages under the Three-Language Formula.

Conclusion

In the multilingual context the use of network is expected to change the language learning scenario. It will not only facilitate learning but also

create a change entire pattern of learning. There is going to be a shift in the role of teachers, learners and learning materials from the traditional resource centred and teacher centred to capacity-based approach. Any technology can be used maximally to suit one's needs. Networks can be used in ways that the major languages do not dominate the learning process. It is the responsibility of linguists as well as educationists to ensure that minor and minority languages are also used in the electronic networks. In the eventuality of multiple languages being available on the network, one need not be dogmatic about the issue of mother tongue as medium of instruction. This would promote and facilitate a multilingual learning environment.

Faculty Development Programmes in Communication Skills

Introduction

Effective communication skills are essential for the members of faculty who are engaged in teaching, research and/or imparting training in all educational, research and training institutions. There is an emphasis in strengthening faculty development programmes in all academic, educational and research institutions. There is a strong need to include training in communication skills in the faculty development programmes.

Faculty Development

The faculty development is usually aimed at enhancement of awareness, appreciation, and achievement of aims and objectives of the institutional policies, practices, programmes directed at the skills, knowledge, and attitudes of academic staff and designed to assist them to meet more fully their own, student and institutional needs. It is relevant for any kind of academic, educational and training institutions.

Training Institutions

Here we will focus on the needs related to training institutions. Different training institutions have well defined objects for conducting different types of pre-service and in-service training programmes. All the training programmes usually focus on the content of the course, and no emphasis is laid on the presentation skills. The feedback usually indicates the need for the effective presentation skills of the faculty and participants.

The training institutions are primarily concerned in imparting training so that the trainees improve their knowledge and skills required in their job situations. Besides imparting training, the members of the faculty are involved in the preparation of training materials and individual research projects. Faculty development programmes of the institutions usually consist of the following:

- (a) programmes for the members of the faculty in the theory and practices of training, curriculum development and assessment;
- (b) practical professional experience in the work places for which the participants or trainees are trained;

- (c) preparation and design of training materials; and
- (d) applied research in the area of the training.

Communication Skills

Communication is basic to any kind of training. The effectiveness of the coverage of contents and assessment is reflected in the oral and written modes of communication. No effective training can be imparted if the communication skill are weak. It is strongly felt that the training institutions must make special efforts in developing the communication skills of the members of faculty who are directly responsible for imparting training. Effective communication skills can be acquired by making special efforts. Communication skills are directly related to the methodology used in imparting training. Usually, different types of training methodology using lectures, tutorials, group discussions, seminars, case studies, group assignments, syndicate studies etc. are used for imparting training. Oral and written communication skills can be strengthened by identifying the problems in the use of different methodologies of training, and by organizing need based short training programmes.

It is important to organize different types of training programmes for the faculty in developing their communication skills. It is possible to identify and cater to the communication needs of the faculty members while organizing other training programmes related to different areas of their specialisation. In such programmes the inputs in communication skills can be provided indirectly.

Suggestions

The suggestions regarding organizing different training programmes with an emphasis on developing communication skills are as follows:

1. Formal faculty seminars and workshops be organized with an emphasis on identifying the problems in communication in training.
2. Informal learning networks where faculty needs have been matched with internal resources ranging from one to one consultation about lesson design and presentation to small group training course for a week or more in various aspects of training and presentation can be organized. It is possible to have experience sharing sessions of faculty on new experiments and strategies evolved and also for their effective presentation.
3. A variety of professional experience sharing programmes may be organized in different work places and situations for which the trainees are being trained. The actual communication situations can be identified and simulation exercise can be worked out using various case studies for discussion.

4. Presentation and discussion of position papers on wide range of training, research and management skills etc. can be organized. The participants should be required to make presentations on different topics related to their area of specialisation. Guest speakers who are excellent in communication skills can be invited to present the position papers, and demonstrate their presentation skills.
 5. All training institutions should focus on the research on organizational training needs, problems, norms, goals, work loads and job satisfaction. The participants can be involved in identifying the issues individually and in groups, and presenting the issues using communication skills.
- It would be beneficial to prepare self-instructional modules in different areas of training. For example, modules can be prepared in the areas of public administration, management, communication, etc. The modules can be discussed and refined by small groups of the members of faculty who are engaged in these areas. The methodology using effective communication skills can be devised and used in practice.
6. The communication skills vary from person to person. Different members of faculty may require developing different aspects of communication skills. Identification of training needs for the members of faculty in communication skills on the basis of their background and requirement of the job can be made.
 7. Faculty development programmes in communication skills need to be considered as an integral part of training. It can be revised periodically at different levels keeping in view the problems one may face in handling new subjects.
 8. All the faculty development programmes in communication skills need not be highly structured events set aside from the normal routine. They need not be attended by all the members of faculty and can consist of intensive workshops or discussion session involving those members of faculty whose needs have been identified.
 9. The best impact does not necessarily come from "outsiders" (at high fees and cost) delivering a message. All training institutions do have some members of faculty who are proficient in communication skills. The training institutions must explore possibility of tapping internal resources and building on their strengths.
 10. It would be a useful exercise to adopt Ivan Illich's notion of "learning webs", where learner's needs are matched with a rich diversity of human and material resources. This requires the systematic identification of internal needs and resources before seeking the assistance of "outside experts". There is an "inside potential" in all the training institutions as in other institutions of higher learning, which needs to be identified and utilized.

11. It is important to take into consideration and assess the trainer's past accomplishments and experience and to relate them to the present responsibilities. All the past experiences need not necessarily fit in the present demands. The communication skills required in imparting training can be identified and reinforced.
12. In training any group of learners', it is useful to make full use of the learner's current skill repertoire to assist others in which trainers are less expert. This will free the trainers for other roles; will motivate the learners to improve those skills in the process of instruction. The institutions must identify the internal resource persons among the trainers and make best use of these resources in imparting training to others.
13. The learners or trainees must be involved in the evaluation of training and development programmes in communication skills. The training institutions do have a practice of feedback system. The feedback forms may be modified to represent strengths, weaknesses and possible improvements as far as presentation or communication skills are concerned.
14. The members of faculty can benefit greatly from getting into one another's lecture sessions, taking part in teaching/training teams (not 'turn' but 'team' teaching) and giving and receiving constructive feedback. This is essential for effectiveness of communication skills.
15. The training institutions must evolve techniques of course or programme evaluation. This would serve to monitor the effectiveness and relevance of subjects taught, action research and the methodology. The evaluation of methodology with special reference to the communication skills can be done primarily internally, but the advice of 'experts' can be sought in evolving the techniques appropriate in a training situation.

Conclusion

To conclude, the challenges are clear and exciting. The training institutions can, within their own means improve and upgrade the quality of training and research in an era of constant change. The faculty development in communication skills is no longer a luxury or bonus to the motivated or to those who seek favours. It is imperative for both types of dedicated or qualified professionals, and for those who need to improve and learn more in the areas of their specialisation. The faculty development programmes in communication skills deserve a top priority especially in the training institutions of repute charged with the responsibility for preparing the trainees for responsible positions.

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The students, researchers, teachers and linguists interested in the areas of language, education and communication with special reference to India will find these papers useful.

Prof. Omkar N Koul is presently chairman of Indian Institute of Language Studies. His publications are mainly in the areas of general linguistics, sociolinguistics, language education and communication. His other publications related to language, education and communication are *Language in Education* (1983), *Effective Communication Skills* (co-author, 1992,1994), *Language Development and Administration* (editor, 1994), *Communication Skills : Development and Training* (editor, 1994), *Linguistic Heritage of India and Asia* (co-editor, 2000), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* (co-editor 2000) and *Linguistics: Theoretical and Applied* (co-editor, 2004).

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

C-13, Greenview 33, Sector 9

Rohini, Delhi -110085

Ph.: 27556197

iils.delhi@gmail.com

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